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HOW INDIA CAN SAVE THE EMPIRE

A collection of the speeches delivered by the Members of the Indian Deputation and other leaders on the present situation and the future work before us

WITH A FOREWORD

BY

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FOREWORD

It was an agitated and agitating India which received somewhat coldly the pronouncement in the House of Commons made by the Secretary of State on the 20th August, 1917 The people were concerned about the release of Mrs Besant, and they rightly refused to pay attention to the short but revolutionary pronouncement, till the immediate object of their constitutional campaign was achieved They kept up the agitation, Mrs Besant was released, and the Indian people won a fine victory

Till then few had believed in the pronouncement After the release many began to take it seriously, and the vast public generally came to accept the theory that something was really going to be done this time Never mind 1833, never mind 1858, never mind the past failures, this time it will be all right, so said the people This faith was strengthened and gained many more adherents when the detailed programme of Mr Montagu's mission to India was announced I did not belong to that growing number, among whom I saw some of my best friends and associates My study of our political history had made me very suspicious of the motives and intentions of the Government of India. Not only

by the broken pledges on important or historical occasions, but in all matters we Indians have been cheated into quietness—in numberless ways, at all times Most of our countrymen, I am afraid, are not cognisant of this

I despaired, therefore, when I saw good friends waxing enthusiastic over the prospect of debate and discussion with Mr Montagu I did not for one day give up my conviction that out of the consultations at Delhi and elsewhere would emerge nothing substantial I kept on murmuring to friends, but was told by more than one that I was pessimistic and unfair I, therefore, thought it best to keep quiet and watch the trend of events

Mr Montagu s visit to Madras dispelled that little hesitancy of mine My conviction grew that along the lines of quiet *pourparlers* the Indian public was being led into a fool's paradise I do not for a moment throw doubt on the absolute sincerity of Mr Montagu or H E the Viceroy But when the arrangements for the Secretary of State's mission to capital towns were left in the hands of the bureaucracy, I felt that neither of our two friends knew the temper and the tradition of that bureaucracy. The first blunder was thus committed and the coming failure of Mr Montagu's labours will have to be attributed to the same cause which has made the Morley-Minto reforms a sorry failure. When the making of rules and regulations for the measure of 1908 was left in the hands of the

bureaucracy, the great blunder was committed, and the present Secretary of State and the Viceroy have fallen into the same pit at a very early stage of the proceedings If the whole story of crass selfishness of the bureaucracy from early days to now is taken into account, one cannot but come to the conclusion that the two head officials could not have made a worse mistake than in leaving the arrangements of deputations and consultations in the hands of interested bureaucrats The scandalous manner in which the Madras bureaucrats manipulated affairs last December is an open secret

But many friends of mine thought that Mr. Montagu was a strong man I believe he is, otherwise he could not have made his splendid speech in the House of Commons during the debate on the Mesopotamian Report But his absence from the Congress and the way in which he has allowed himself to be run by the bureaucrats convinces one that he has not proved strong enough for them

Those first indications aroused some suspicions. But the Indian temperament is over-optimistic and over-believing, and almost all kept up their faith in the coming change due to Mr Montagu's presence in our midst Numerous small things happened; many indications were given ,—but these were all set aside because the Home Rule Deputations were granted and passports were allowed to good and reliable men of our side to proceed to Great Britain One felt that that was the strongest thing that the

Viceroy and Mr Montagu had done Open frank discussion here was foiled by the bureaucrats, but the work in Great Britain would produce the necessary recompense—so thought all, even the doubters.

I must record here that personally I believe that our leaders have committed a very grave blunder in not arranging earlier for a Deputation to proceed to Great Britain It ought to have been fixed up at the Lucknow Congress of 1916 Because of this mistake, I am afraid, we are running a risk, and I will not be surprised if we suffer severely therefrom in our coming struggle Fortunately, on account of some legal work in connection with the internment of Mr G S Arundale two, friends were sent to Great Britain—Mr Joseph Baptista and Mr E L Iyer—and they have been doing very valuable work

The Home Rule Deputations were proceeding to Great Britain in response to a call from certain Labour leaders, who are the friends of India They are eager to help us, but they require the assistance of competent Indians who would present our case at the bar of the British Public The All-India Home Rule League selected the Hon Mr B V. Narasimha Aiyar, Messrs Manjeri Rama Aiyer, George Joseph, Syed Hussain and I N Gurtu. The Indian Home Rule League was headed by Lok. Tilak and was composed of the Hon Mr Khaparde, Messrs B C Pal, N C Kelkar and R P Karandikar. The fate of these two deputations is well-known the first was allowed to proceed as far as

Gibraltar where the passports were cancelled, the second went to Colombo, and after delay and discussion returned home.

THE COMMUNIQUE

The British Cabinet thought it wise to embrace this opportunity to issue a Communique And what a Communique! I for one am exceedingly glad, for I think that this is one of the very rare occasions when a frank statement, expressing truthfully what is in the mind of the Government, has been made It clears the ground It unveils the reality to the Indian public Its insulting language, its almost brutal frankness, its clear indications as to our political future—all these I welcome most heartily Perhaps I am selfish, perhaps it is my personal vanity, but I feel I have been in the right. The Indian public has been for months led step by step on the errand of a fool, in a wilderness of talk, while we have been thirsting after a drop of fact and action

What is the part of Government of India in this play of events? I hold that Mr Montagu and the Government of India are a party to the issue of the Communique. I know of some instances in the past, in connection with regulations about statutory civilians and other matters, when the Government of India kept Whitehall dangling for months and simply disobeyed them With the Secretary of State on the spot, if for any reason the Government

of India thought it expedient not to issue to the public the text of the communique, they could have averted it Why was it issued? I think it was purposely done I do not for one moment believe that it was done thoughtlessly The appeal of the Premier and the Viceroy's reply to it were before the public The Viceroy and the Secretary of State were putting their heads together as to the steps to be taken in reference to that appeal Mr Montagu is no child in politics and the bureaucrats are no fools Close on the heels of the Deputation Communique the official organ, the *Pioneer* and the semi-official news agency, the *A P I*, were ceremoniously utilised to make known to the public the holding of the Conference at Delhi What an official pucca communique ought to have done but did not, that the *Pioneer* and the *A P I* were made to announce The programme of work of the Conference, the agenda of the Conference, should have been published as an official communique The *Pioneer* was made to whisper a little on the first day, a little more on the second, and the *A P I* made adequate use of the wires in transmitting news about the Delhi Conference and its agenda "It is understood' said the *A P I* in its first paragraph, "it is further understood," opened the *A P I's* second paragraph A later telegram referred to "what is generally understood," and the four subsequent paragraphs all contain what is "understood"! The *Pioneer* went a little further and referred to the authority from

whom its news emanated It referred to the meetings of the Viceroy's Executive Council

For an adequate understanding of the Cabinet's Communique we must take into account the official documents which preceded and the semi-official news which followed it Read the Premier's appeal and the Viceroy's reply, the Deputation Communique and the news convening the Delhi Conference, and the situation becomes clear What was done was this an appeal to the better nature —the softer nature—of the Indian public was made, a note was sounded which the officials well knew would go to the heart of the public, but there were irreconcilables, incorrigibles—Tilak and his friends, Mrs Besant and her friends, the combination has been dreaded by the bureaucracy for long and they knew that their game was up if Lok Tilak and his friends agitated in Great Britain and Mrs Besant retained her hand on the helm of affairs in India They must be, therefore, discredited After having trumpeted forth the rallying cry, confidently expecting Indians in all parts of the country to be hushed by the grave words about "safeguarding the soil of their Motherland," the game of discrediting, with a view to silencing, the Besant-Tilak combination, was played Moves had already been made behind the scenes for some time past Lord Morley's "rallying the moderates" was applied to the somewhat different conditions of to-day Certain of our "statesmanlike leaders"—I shall not name them—

have been very judiciously handled and tuning-forks —not my phrase but Lord Morley's—were sounded. Certain tuning-forks emitted just the notes that were required, promptly they were pocketed, others were jarring, were inharmonious and they were told to make their popular music elsewhere! The plan was well conceived and well carried out—but something went wrong somewhere What was it? The Deputation Communique failed to produce its effects; it did not frighten the incorrigibles into silence, not even into a "wait and see" policy Secondly, the popular feeling upon which the officials relied with the help of the Premier's appeal and the Viceroy's "safeguarding the soil of the Motherland," expressed itself differently It cared more for Lok Tilak and Mrs Besant than for the Premier and the Viceroy. The harmonious tuning-forks' silvery music did not hush the Indian public into silence The Deputation Communique and the semi-official agenda with its grandiloquent note of "cessation of all political activities" were fully criticised and earned their deserved fate

The proceedings of the Delhi Conference do not evince much zeal about the "cessation of political activities," and it seems that political agitation and propaganda is not to cease by a voluntary vow of the leaders, but perhaps will be checked by a repressive policy of the Government in the near future

What are we coming to? A shelving of the Home

Rule scheme We are asked to have patience, to forget Home Rule, to concentrate on the War. We are told of the generous intentions of the Government, we are threatened that those generous intentions "might be fatally impaired" by our propaganda What should be our answer?

We do not care for your intentions, generous or otherwise We do not propose to rely either on words or on intentions We want facts, we want deeds. You want our men? You shall have them, but listen for a moment to our terms You want our money? It shall come into your coffers, if you will consent to pay the interest of Home Rule on the sums you require Without Home Rule, I am afraid the Government will fail to get either that quality of men or the quantity of money which is so necessary But the enemy is at the gate? He is nearer Calais than Peshawar Let the Irish Home Rulers be hushed into silence with Home Rule for Ireland ere you wish Indian Home Rulers to hold their tongues without Home Rule for India. If Germany and her allies invade India, it will be for no fault of Indians. The Law of Karma is exacting its toll from stiff-necked arrogance and haughty inefficiency and criminal negligence Indians do not wish to break the British connection and go over to Germany, Indians are extremely anxious and sincerely and earnestly desire that their tie with Britain may continue, the best of them have even consented to lead "a forlorn hope" and to "help

Britain in any case", but Indians have been made helpless and who can blame them for claiming the right of Freedom in their own country when they are asked to fight the enemies of Freedom abroad? They have been asked to pay for the defence of their soil and they have paid for many years, drawing attention to the huge mistake that our rulers were making Now when the hour of defending us has come, we are asked to go and fight If Indians are expected to fight then give them a battle-cry The battle-cry in Europe and in Africa is "Freedom, Liberty, Rights of Nationality, Self determination" What is the battle-cry of Indians going to be? What statesmanship is this which asks them to pour their blood and to part with their money for "generous intentions?" The crass stupidity of the bureaucratic programme would be intensely amusing were it not for the fact that the situation is very critical. The route of the enemy from Odessa, already in his hands, through Baku, Batum, Merv, Samarkand, leads to the very gateway of Peshawar

The Delhi Conference is long over Mr Montagu was not present there for he was already on his way back to London I expect the re-introduction of the repressive policy if the Indian public is not vigilant enough to watch closely and checkmate every move of the Bureaucracy I am of opinion that no time should be lost in organizing all our forces for a great and serious, and perhaps prolonged, constitutional struggle. It is very likely that Passive Resistance

will have to be resorted to the refusal of the payment of land-tax by the poor, as in Kaira, might have to be engineered, the rich, professional men and merchants, should consider whether they should not refuse to pay income-tax if occasion demanded such a procedure Above all, a thorough-going Swadeshi Movement will have to be organized Not a few shops here and there, but a well-laid-out scheme whereby all over India only Swadeshi articles are bought and used by all Indians, especially the Indian masses And there are other plans but it is premature to speak of them here I believe, and not without foundation, that the masses are ready to follow the lead of courageous men We are living in momentous times and we must take care that some wiseacres with their "statesmanship and expediency" do not sell our cause for a song of compartmental autonomy

The Deputation Communique has led me to write of all these, for I am of opinion that the Communique is one of a series of connected events and cannot be treated separately The publishing of the Communique has done us mighty good, the Indian public has shown that it is not going to be cajoled by a Premier's appeal or frightened by a Cabinet's threat. The condemnation of the Communique and the attitude to the "cessation of political activities" has been universal and the first round brings victory to the popular cause, for the talk of cessation of political activities is given up Let us courageously

stand at our post and demand the Congress-League Scheme as the first instalment towards Responsible Government—that and nothing less than that.

Knowing that agreement and peace were not possible between the opponents Sri Krishna went to the Court of the enemy pathetically pleading for peace, so also a few wise leaders, knowing fully the situation, tried to "help Britain in any case" Thus the Indians did their duty, but the Government failed to do theirs at the Delhi Conference. I repeat here what I said at the Provincial Conference at Conjeeveram, that the Delhi Conference has been a eye-wash and that its resolutions are not binding on the Indian public The War-situation is getting complex in relation to India, and we must *follow the lead given by the All-India Congress* Committee It is "leading a forlorn hope," but in face of the distrustful attitude of the Government it is the only right course for Indians to adopt

I think that the Bureaucracy is trying very hard to make us give a second place to Home Rule. The Indian public has steadfastly kept its gaze on the Congress-League Scheme and efforts have been made and are being made to wean us away from that supreme objective The present War conditions should not be allowed to be exploited to get us into a non-political atmosphere. If the authorities are anxious to obtain more men, let them at least make the Indian Defence Force less obnoxious and also take steps to use the influential services of Mrs.

Besant and Lok. Tilak These leaders can get young men who will not do the bidding of the Viceroy. Let us continue to keep our gaze fixed on the Congress-League Scheme, we must repeat—that and nothing less than that, as far as our political emancipation is concerned. If the Government do not choose that course let them run the risk of failure in their fresh attempt at gathering men and money for the purposes of war, in spite of help from Mrs Besant, Lok Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi, and what is more, let them run the risk of inviting the Karma arising out of the non-recognition and non-application of the moral factor of the great struggle between Right and Might, between Liberty and Slavery We stand for the ideals of Truth, Justice and Liberty, as we wish to see these actually established at Home, we would be false to our Motherland if we do not fight for them on her behalf. It is not a question of bargaining, let us all realise that our Dharma demands from us the gaining of Freedom for the Motherland and the right of Self-Determination by her children, and we cannot fight for Liberty and then remain slaves, we cannot pay for the gaining of other peoples' Freedom if we are to be still in bondage.

Vande Mataram.

21st May, 1918 B. P WADIA.

INDIAN DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND

MR C R DAS

[Under the Presidency of Babu Motilal Ghose, a public meeting of the Citizens of Calcutta was held on the 18*th March,* 1918, *at Professor Ramamurti's Pavilion, Bow Bazaar Street, to support the Indian Deputation to England, when, Mr C R Das in moving the resolution as "That this public meeting accords its hearty support to and records its full approval of the deputation, consisting of among others of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the Hon'ble Mr G. S Khaparde, Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, the Hon'ble Mr B V Narasinha Iyer, Mr Manjeri Ramier, Mr Syed Hussain, Mr G Joseph, Mrs Sarojini Naidu, Mr N C Kelkar, Mr R P Karandikar, Babu Jitendralal Banerjee and Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu," spoke as follows]*.—

Gentlemen,—There are two points which are involved in this resolution The first is about the fitness of the gentlemen whom we have selected I need hardly say that these gentlemen are in the highest sense the representatives of this country and I have not the least doubt that if the votes of

our countrymen were taken,—the votes of the uneducated and the educated, of all classes and communities in this country,—there cannot be the least doubt that every one of these gentlemen would have been elected

Then comes the question why are we sending these gentlemen to England at a time when the journey is not safe The answer to that question is not very difficult We are passing through a very critical period in our history We feel, every one amongst us who thinks of his country feels, that self-government cannot be delayed any longer If self-government is denied to us it is certain that the growth of our nationality, and the development of Indian manhood will all be stopped It is a matter of absolute necessity that within a short time, I say within one year or two, we must have self-government (cheers)—government responsible to the people—or we cannot exist as a nation Now, what are the impediments? We have found out in the course of the last 30 years that the Bureaucracy in this country will not grant us anything which is at all substantial Gentlemen, on one occasion I had the hardihood to say this before a high official and I was asked why did I say it I will tell you what my answer was I said and I repeat that within the last 30 years there never has been a reform proposed which had not been opposed and defeated by the Bureaucracy (hear, hear) If you consider for one moment the history of the last

30 years what do you find? You find that the noble policy of Lord Ripon was opposed by the Bureaucracy, you find that local self-government for which Lord Ripon fought, although nominally granted to us, was in reality denied to us If you consider again such a simple reform as the separation of the Executive and the Judiciary what do you find? You find that Viceroy after Viceroy recommended it You find statesman after statesman in England recommended it, yet what is it which has prevented such a useful reform being put through? My answer is it is the Bureaucracy in this country (Shame, shame) Think again of Lord Morley's reforms which is called the Minto-Morley reforms I said to this high official that this scheme was something when it left the shores of England but it became absolutely ridiculous when it got into the hands of the Indian Bureaucracy (Shame, shame) I was then asked why did I say so? My answer was and my answer is because I have not got a vote under that scheme and I pointed out that Sir S P Sinha, who was considered worthy enough to be appointed a member of the Executive Council was not a qualified voter either (shame, shame) Under these circumstances are we not justified in saying that that scheme was rendered absolutely ridiculous when it got into the hands of the Indian Bureaucracy (cheers)

It is plain, therefore, that you may agitate as long as you like, you may demand your right, as

you have a right to demand, but you will not get the Bureaucracy in this country to support you You must, therefore, go to their masters Our demands must be carried across the seas to the great British Democracy (cheers) We want to be told why is it that we are not fit for self-government? I have said on other occasions that I do not ask for any particular kind of right which requires any elaborate consideration I want the right which every nation on the face of the earth has—the right to build up our own constitution (cheers) I do not care about the details of the scheme just now You can discuss them fully when the time comes The question at present is a very simple one I want our representatives to go to England and tell the British Democracy that we want nothing more nothing less than the right to build up our own constitution,—a constitution which alone will enable us to secure the development of our nationality, a constitution which is absolutely necessary for the development of our manhood Our representatives must go to England and tell the British people that the men on the spot are no longer to be trusted (hear, hear)—they must plead our case and they must insist on our rights (cheers)

If we find that we are not to get self-government, we have at least the right to get an honest answer Let the British Democracy say if it likes, that this war is a war of liberation of humanity but libera-

tion of humanity does not include the liberation of India If that is the view of the British Democracy let them tell us so We won't be content with excuses and pretences Gentlemen, when I consider the objections put forward to the grant of self-government I can hardly keep my patience What is that they say? They say we are not educated enough to get self-government My answer is whose fault is it? For the last 150 years you have been governing this country and yet you have not succeeded in educating the people of this country to such an extent that they may be fit for governing themselves Do we not know that Japan was made only in 50 years? You have had 150 years Why is it that at the end of that period we are told that we are not fit to govern ourselves? The very statement fills us with apprehension As days go by we will be rendered more and more unfit No gentlemen, nobody really believes that the time has not come It is a matter of immediate necessity and we must have it (cheers)

Then we are told we are divided between many sects We follow different religions, we have got different interests to serve and so on Arguments are piled upon arguments in this way—it is always easy to argue and we at any rate who belong to the profession of law, know that it is always possible to argue (Laughter) We all know that though vanquished one can argue still (laughter) But do we not know from the history of civilization

that directly you make people of different classes, of different religions and of differnt interests, work together, work for a common good, do we not find that unity is brought about more successfully from the very fact of having to work together than by any other means ? Therefore if you say that we are not fit for Self-Government because we are divided in our interests and in our religions my answer is that self-government and self-government alone is the remedy of that (Hear, hear)

Then we are told that there is a revolutionary party amongst us and therefore we cannot be trusted with self-government I have said elsewhere and I say again that I am not one of those who deny that there is a revolutionary party But if you consider that question for one moment you find that the only remedy which is possible, the only remedy which will effectually eradicate the revolutionary movement is the grant of self-government (loud cheers) I say this to the Government—you have been troubled over this revolutionary movement for so many years now—you suspected it in 1905 Have you ever made any effort to understand the psychology of that movement ? Have you ever appointed any commission to enquire into the causes of this revolutionary movement ? No And yet we have to take it that you want to eradicate it by repressive legislation (shame) My answer is that repressive legislation can never put an end to a

revolutionary movement—it is only by satisfying their legitimate desire, it is only by satisfying their hunger, as I said the other day, for liberty that you can put an end to it If you understand that problem you will find that the sooner self-government is introduced into this country it is better I say it is better not only from the point of view of us Indians, it is *better from the point of view of the* British Democracy also and that is what I desire that our representatives should tell them It is the interest of India, it is the interest of England—it is really the true interest of both countries which will be served by the grant of self-government (loud applause)

If under ordinary circumstances, this deputation is necessary, I say it is rendered more necessary now that the Anglo-Indian agitation has succeeded in starting a new association in England under the name of the Indo-British association Gentlemen, I must at once tell you that the name is a misnomer There is nothing Indo in that association except this that there are members belonging to that association who have been benefitted largely by India (hear, hear) that is the only Indo about this association There are no Indians but there are members who have lived here amongst us—I do not desire to use any harsh language—who have been profited greatly (laughter) We are told, we should be everlastingly grateful to these people for coming over here all the way and putting lots of money

into their pockets and leaving us to our fate Well, gentlemen, these are men who represent the Indo part of that association (laughter).

I tell you gentlemen, there is nothing British about them either (laughter) I cannot understand any association which has anything British in it, which stands up against the legitimate aspirations of the people of a country (hear, hear) I refuse to believe that England has sunk so low to-day that her sons will form themselves into an association for the express purpose of crushing the legitimate aspirations of the people of India (hear hear) Therefore, gentlemen, there is nothing "Indo" and nothing really "British" in this association which was started expressly, as I say, to oppose all reforms, to put down a whole people so that their aspirations—their just aspirations may be crushed for ever So, gentlemen, if this deputation was necessary under normal circumstances, it has become absolutely necessary for our representatives to go to England to expose the vagaries of this association If they have fed the British public with falsehood after falsehood, surely it is necessary for our representatives to meet them and expose the falsity of their utterances Our representatives will be able to convince the British public that the grant of Home Rule is no longer a matter of gift (hear, hear) It is no longer a matter of beneficence but it is a matter of necessity which must be accomplished immediately (cheers)

They talk of progressive stages now I say if you had started teaching the people the art of governing themselves 30 years ago, if you granted half a boon or even quarter of a boon at that time and went on granting more and more, why by to-day we would have had complete self-government in this country (hear, hear) You have not done that We have waited and waited and our patience is exhausted (hear, hear) Our faith in the man on the spot is gone (hear, hear) and nothing that you can do now, no honied words of beneficence, no eloquent speech of England's duty, no promise, no assurance will ever give us back that faith which you have crushed cheers)—that hope which you have killed (loud cheers)

What is our duty? Our duty is clear We must depend on ourselves (hear, hear) We must tell our own people to get ready for this great constitutional fight It has been going on for the last 30 years but the time has come when its vigour must be doubled We must put more energy into it, we must go on fighting here in this country till we get what we demand And in the meantime our representatives must go to England and acquaint the people there the true state of affairs —We want no favour We have ceased to rely on beneficence or generosity What we want is our legitimate rights And who in this world has got the power of denying that which is ours, to claim, and to deprive us of that which is undoubtedly our right? (Loud cheers)

BABU BEPIN CHANDRA PAL

THE INDIAN SITUATION

[At a public meeting held at Calcutta, on 18th March, 1918, to give a hearty support to the Indian Deputation to England, Babu Bepin Chandra Pal said] —

Mr Chairman and Friends,—My first duty to night is to thank you with all my heart not only on my own behalf but on behalf of the other members of the deputation with regard to which you have passed these resolutions I thank you on our behalf for the expression of approval and confidence that you have recorded in this resolution The first thing that strikes me to-night is my mind goes back 10 years ago to 1908, 1907, 1906 and I was asking myself if anybody had proposed that I or any one else should proceed to England upon a mission like that which has been entrusted to us to day—would I agree to be a member of that mission? Could I not on the contrary ask our people, beg of them beseech them to-give-the-go-by to this mendicant policy of begging for political favours from those whose interest it is not to grant these favours to the people Ten years ago I would have

opposed a deputation like this I would have asked them to engage themselves more profitably in the country and to teach the people in the country to inspire them with courage in their own powers, confidence in their own possibilities and ask them to work out their own political and their own national salvation by their own efforts, unaided by any other people, unhindered by any other nation (Cheers) But why do I agree to this deputation to-day? And the first answer to that is this Mr Chairman and friends, allow me to tell you this My friend Mr Das has already hinted at this I do not go on your behalf, neither on my own behalf with the medicant's bowl in my hand begging for political favours from the British people I ask no favours But what do I take in my hand ? I take the red signal of danger ahead (loud cheers) —danger to my own people, danger to my own nation, danger more than anything else to the Empire which they are so proud to say they and their fathers have built up in this country That I understand is the mission of this deputation Ten years ago if the British Parliament or British Statesmen had made any pronouncement like the one that was made last August by Mr Montagu in the House of Commons, I would have passed it over very lightly—brushed it aside with a contempt as politicians' pledges that are meant for the ear and predetermined to be broken to the heart But times have changed Forces beyond

the control of pretty politicians are at work in the history of the world and in the history of the Empire,—forces that no statesman can ignore with impunity and it is these forces that have forced this declaration of new policy from British Statesman and the British Parliament and I rely upon the world forces, the trends and tendencies of world evolution for the success of the mission which you are entrusting to me on this occasion What are these forces? You know what they are We are passing through a very serious war in which the empire is engaged and a war cannot be conducted without depleting the man-power of the belligerents —man-power cannot be replenished by the magician's wand It requires men, a large population It requires men with muscle, more than that, men with intelligence, with courage, men who fear not to die at the call of duty (cheers) and where will you find such men in such super-abundance outside India at the present moment in this civilized world? you are combing out your manhood in Great Britain as a woman combs and takes out the little bits of hair that are ready to fall off—so our British statesmen are combing their population to send them to the front This process has been going on and Sir Eric Geddes was telling the British people the other day that if they were to live as a nation, they must have more men 'Must' is easily said but having it is more difficult You can have woman (laughter)—as many as you like—Russia was having women for her

soldiers and England may have woman for soldiers—not a bad idea after all but you cannot have men after three years of exhausting war men sufficient to carry on the remaining portion of this deadly fight to a successful issue Where are you to find the men ? You can find them in India We offered you men when the war broke out-our leaders offered themselves to serve in your army They offered themselves to be enrolled as volunteers But there were difficulties in the way We said, all right, we shall not regard your calamity as our opportunity We fought with you, we rankled with you, we quarelled with you, we were up, now that you are in a hole it is not consistent with the innate chivalry of our Indian nature to take advantage of the calamity of anybody (cheers) Therefore, our chivalry inspired our loyalty to the empire during the first few weeks and months of the present war We saw you were in a difficulty and we forgot the past, we wiped off everything that you had done in India for the last 150 years (cheers)—we forgot the insults, we forgot the insolence, we forgot the denial of things that we had a right to have, forgot the pretexts and pretences and gagging of our mouth when we cried for them more and more and insisted upon having them We forgot the Press Act, we forgot the Public Meetings Act and forgot the deportations of our leaders, we forgot every denial, every disqualification, every disability that you had

heaped upon us because you were in danger, you were in a hole and we wanted to help you and we said, 'make us volunteers' There are difficulties in the way' We said never mind we shall be dooly bearers Our junior barristers, our pleaders, our zemindars, our youngmen from our universities and our colleges, the flower of our race with blue blood in their veins bluest than you can find in great Britain and Ireland—men whose fathers had refused to carry their hand-bags whose fathers had servants for carrying every little bit of things and these men offered to serve as dooly bearers, ambulance volunteers You thought the Bengali talks and was talking this time also You did not take the Bengali seriously and you wanted to put us down by saying give us 2000 'We shall take you provided if you give us 2000' We set to work and in the course of a few days we had raised more than 6000 I believe on our register Then flashed a wire from Olympus—'there are difficulties in the way do not even ambulance volunteers' When was that? That was in September, 1914 And before one year was over there were whispers of enlisting young Bengalis in the army in a few months after, they said we shall give you a double company, give us recruits for a Bengali Double Company, we gave you a Double Company You tried them, you took them to Nowshera, to the North Western Provinces, you saw their mettle, you saw their muscle and you were convinced that it would be better and wiser policy

instead of putting these men inside another regiment to have an independent Bengali regiment with English Officers We gave you a regiment You Still want more, recruiting committees have been formed in every district Lord Ronaldshay went to Dacca the other day and made a nice speech thanking our friend Babu Sri Chandra Chatterji of all men for the little work that he had done in connection with recruitment Things have come to this pass You want more men What has worked this magical change? It is the circumstances, no favour Necessity is not only the mother of invention, but it is the mother of generosity also in politics Necessity is the mother of granting boons to the people and we recognise all these facts and recognising all these facts, we shall take our stand manfully, stand erect upon our own rights and treat with the British Democracy not as subjects and kings, but as man and man If you want to save your empire you shall have to organise the man-power of India If you want to have man-power of India you shall have to remove the Indian discontent and Indian discontent will not be removed until a full and complete measure of responsible Government or Home Rule is granted to the Indian people There are dangers ahead Politicians speak of these with bated breath I am no politician and I think I can speak of them broadly, plainly What is brewing there on the Pacific Coast? You have to take note of it The

protectors of the British Empire have to take note of the development in the Pacific Coast and we Indian Nationalists also have to take note of this development What are these developments? It may be summed up in one word the geographical and political destiny of Japan—it is not my own words, I merely quote them—is pushing her towards Siberia The geographical and political destiny of China is pushing her into the arms of Japan and the geographical and political destiny of Japan is pushing her into the arms of China—they have agreed to work together and have practically declared, if reports be true 'hands off' in Siberia and other places They are your allies and are keeping watch and ward over your interest on the Pacific Coast I do not disbelieve the friendship of Japan I do not ignore the fact that Japan is an Ally of the British Empire But politics is a very nasty game Who knows what an ally of to-day will be to-morrow? Germany was the ally of Italy and Italy of Germany—where are they now? Ranged one against the other Before the war Turkey was an ally of Great Britain and Great Britain was the trusted ally of the great Moslem Power in Europe Where are they to-day? Political friendship have in their very heart, and centre a tendency to change—political friendship is always in a permanent unstable equilibrium and he is no politician much less a statesman who puts his faith and shapes his future upon con-

sideration of political alliance and political friendship The political and geographical destiny of Japan is the danger signal for the empire and for India We do not want Japan to look at us through the specks of her political and geographical destiny We do not want Japan in this country either as a friend or as a foe We want to be in our own home as we ought to be We want that Great Britain should make it possible for us to enter into real friendly alliance with Japan and not be a prey to Japan or anybody else when the world changes in the next cycle It is a common danger, and I want my own countrymen to realise the danger which they are running We have got an extensive seaboard from Chittagong to Karachi but no navy We have got an extensive frontier from the North-West to the North-East but practically no national militia We have men, we have materials to build up but we want time to build this How are we to get it? It can only be had on one condition in the present circumstances and that condition is the continuance of the British connection is conditional absolutely—let there be no mistake in any quarter about it—upon an early grant of responsible Government to India (Loud cheers), and the removal of the badge of subjection from the forehead of India which she bears just now So far as I understand this is your mandate You do not ask us to go and beg—you ask us to go and tell them the true situation in India The situation in India is grave. Lord

Chelmsford said that it was grave The Government of India said that it was becoming graver and graver every day We shall have to tell them if you want to ease the tension of the Indian situation if you want to remove the gravity of the situation, if you want to solve the problem that faces you in India at the present moment, you must grant without further delay responsible Government to the people of India and must, you know, admit of no apology and accept no delay That is what I want to tell them—that is what I understand to be your wish I go there and I think all our friends go there to appeal to the British people not only on behalf of India but on behalf of the Empire and above all on behalf of the world peace They talk of the League of Nations but so long as India is in her present condition, so long as the weaker nations of the world remain weak, so long as the subject nations of the world have not come to their own and have not attained self-Government or swaraj, so long there can be no peace among the powers of the world Peace is disturbed among strong rivals by the weakness of the subject of their rivalry—peace was disturbed at one time between Russia and Great Britain by the weakness of India. If India had been strong Great Britain would have no fear of Russia—Russia could not have cast her longing lustful eyes upon India If India is strong to-day, Great Britain need have no fear of Germany because Germany would not be able to

cast her longing lustful look upon a strong self-contained, self-protected India as she can upon a weak and helpless India So with regard to all the nations If you keep India weak, in the present state of her helplessness you do it at the cost of the Empire at the cost of the future peace of the world and with us also it will be at the cost of our future progress and national self-realisation As my friend Mr Das said English interests, permanent interest and larger interest when viewed intelligently are at one at this crisis with the interest of British and India We recognise the unity of British and Indian interest not the Indo-British interest but British and Indian interest and recognising this unity we have practically buried the hatchet We do not want to quarrel with you any more We are out for co-operation but you must make the conditions of that co-operation consistent with our self-respect You must make the conditions of that co-operation consistent with our intelligence, with our own convictions as to what is good for you and what is good for us Co-operation can not be had for the asking We are out for co-operation with the bureaucracy here if they will co-operate with us on friendly terms consistent with our self-respect We are going to offer the hand of fellowship and co-operation on your behalf to the British people if they will accept it, on our own terms and not on theirs. There will be no co-operation such as has been asked for so many

years *i e*, on their own terms—we lay down the law, we decide what is to be done and you come and co-operate with us—it is the co-operation of the servant with the master, of the bondsman with his lord This is not the sort of co-operation that we shall submit to or shall give you It it be co-operation, let it be friendly co-operation based upon the mutual respect each one respecting the other and trying to help the other—that is the sort of co-operation for which we are out This is the co-operation we shall give in our own interest and in the interest of the empire and we go there in the name of the empire to warn the British democracy to grant responsible Government to India in their own interest, in our interest and in the interest of modern universal humanity (Loud Cheers)

MR JAMNADAS DWARKADAS

[A crowded meeting was held on the 6th March, 1918 in Morarji Goculdas Hall at Cavel Street, under the presidency of Mr Jamnadas Dwarkadas, to give a hearty send-off to Messrs Syed Hussain and Iqbal Narain Gurtu, the Home Rule delegates proceeding to England In opening the proceedings Mr Jamnadas said] —

"We have met here this evening to bid farewell to two of our friends who are leaving for England Messrs Syed Hussain and Iqbal Narain Gurtu are going to England on behalf of the Home Rule League, to fight for the cause of Home Rule, in England I think I am echoing the opinion of all that have met here to-day and of all who are members of the various branches of the Home Rule League all over India, that every member of the Home Rule wishes giving them a hearty send off It is hardly necessary for me to tell you what useful work both Messrs Syed Hussain and Iqbal Narain Gurtu are doing in the cause of Home Rule in India and although we will miss them for many months, and they will not be in India to agitate, we will have the satisfaction of knowing that they will be working—and working very hard for Home Rule in England and making impression on British democracy We wish them good voyage I wish you both [to the delegates] godspeed and a safe and happy return to India"

MR B G HORNIMAN

[In the above meeting, Mr B G Horniman spoke as follows] —

"I need not assure those present what a great honour I feel has been conferred upon me in being asked to take the first place in wishing a farewell to our friends who are going to England on behalf of the great cause of Home Rule for India Mr Syed Hussain (applause) is so well known personally to us in Bombay and Mr Gurtu by repute, that those present have no doubt that in selecting these two gentlemen we have selected two men who will adequately fulfil the mission with which they are entrusted, and it will therefore be superfluous to dwell upon their fitness for the mission on which they are starting But we feel none the less that we want Mr Syed Hussain and Mr Gurtu to leave Bombay thoroughly acquainted with the confidence the people have in them, because then they will have the fullest confidence in themselves Mrs Besant has, yesterday, put in very definite terms what is expected of the delegates and uttered sentiments with which we are in the fullest agreement The gist of what Mrs Besant said, is that we want the delegates to advocate Home Rule,

and that we want them to put the issue plainly and straightly before the British democracy that India is determined to get Home Rule and that India will not rest until she gets it We do not want to compromise, and we will not follow in the trail of those well-meaning gentlemen who are always assuring us that if we do this or do that we will frighten the Tory party or some Tory members of the Cabinet and get nothing at all. Our reply to that is that we do not care a bit whom we frighten so long as it is thoroughly understood that we want Home Rule and mean to get Home Rule (cheers) and that if we do not get what we want we will not have anything and will then continue our agitation That is the mission on which the delegates are going to England on our behalf and we are confident that the delegates will stick to this simple, straight issue and boldly state it before the British public * * *

INDIFFERENCE OF BRITISH PUBLIC TO INDIA

I have for sometime past been wondering as to what sort of opposition the delegates will have to encounter when they get to England In the first place it may fairly safely be said that it is not so much the opposition that they will have to encounter that is of great importance as that appalling indifference of the British public in the fulfilment of their duty towards India I do not believe for a moment that once the British

democracy is made thoroughly aware of the position of affairs in this country and that India wants to be an equal partner in the British Empire—if the British democracy is made to understand this—I do not think they will hesitate to grant this right so justly demanded What we had to fight all these years was the difficulty of arousing the English public who were so much taken up with questions of vital importance to themselves that they found it difficult to take a just, real, proper and equitable interest in the people whose destinies were committed to their charge But they have reached a crisis in the affairs of the world when the responsibility of the great country of England towards the great dependency of India is more likely to be realised than ever before, and it is this fact that they have reached this crisis in the world's history which gives me the greatest hope at the present moment that, by sending our delegates to educate the British public as to what India ought to have, we will be able to achieve in a short time at any rate the first substantial step—and when I say the first substantial step I mean something that establishes self-government—the first substantial step towards the ultimate goal of full political freedom (cheers) This is one difficulty that our friends will have to contend with in England Then, of course, there will be opposition and it will come from certain well-known quarters as before

POLITICAL SOMERSAULTS

But we know that during the last three years the imperialist point of view has very much changed and there has been so serious a dimunition in the opposition I referred to that it has reached almost the vanishing point and even men like Lord Curzon and Lord Milner have been much converted by the events of the last three years and Lord Curzon has turned almost a complete political somersault And those present here this evening hope that the delegates will see that this somersault is imitated by a very large number of people representing imperialistic views

BRITISH COMMERCIAL INTERESTS

The third kind of opposition the delegates will have to contend with in England will be conducted with every sort of bitterness by that band of people in England such as the Indo-European Association, who are in league with the reactionaries in this country to prevent Indians getting their just rights. I have been reading the speeches made at a recent meeting of the European Association of Calcutta with great interest with a view to find out what possible line of action they intend to follow in England I thought that perhaps they would come to meet them half way and they learnt some lesson from the experience of the past few months and were sensible of the wisdom of realising that they would not be able to make any head way in their

fight unless they modified their attitude even to a little extent I however discover that instead of modifying their attitude they are taking up an absolutely reactionary attitude, saying that the masses of India, who know nothing of politics, desire a continuance of the supremacy of British merchants The greatest stress was laid at the meeting on the fact that the British merchants invested their capital in India because they trusted government to maintain the present form of government, that is to say the supremacy of British Commercial interests I do not think an argument of this kind is going to cut much ice with the British public at the present time My impression is that whatever these people who are like resuscitated fossils of a prehistoric age, repeating political formulae that are as extinct as they do, may say and howsoever they may froth and fume and strut the platform their friends in England will not be so foolish as to put their views in that form in England I think they in England will take up a different line of action and make a sort of flank movement and say that the delegates do not represent any body but a selfish clique of men who have no connection with the masses in India It is therefore important that the Bombay branch of the Home Rule league with a membership of over 50,000 people in this presidency should express their unanimous confidence in the delegates, as emphatically as they can by the manner of their reception and by their presence here

and show that the delegates have every qualification and every right to represent the people of this country in the mission they are starting upon

"OLDEST FRIEND IN INDIA"

The absence even for a short time of Mr Syed Hussain is for me a great personal wrench There are several reasons for that, the first of which is that Mr Syed Hussain is my oldest friend in India I might say that about ten years ago I discovered Mr Syed Hussain, but as this claim has already been put forward from another quarter, I will desist from making this claim myself, and will say it was Mr Syed Hussain who discovered me about ten years ago (Laughter and cheers) And though for long we separated, one having gone to another country than his own and the other also being in another country than his own, we have been together for the last fifteen months in Bombay and during this time my respect for Mr Hussain as a politician, as a publicist, and as a fearless, honest and straight forward fighter (applause,) has continually increased But more than this we have been associated together in connection with a certain public institution which I will not specifically name (laughter,) and Mr Hussain has been to me a colleague of more value than I can adequately describe His loyalty and devotion to me in all times of stress and in every description of trouble —and trouble of a kind which does not ordinarily

fall on journalists is beyond my power to express He has been as devoted and loyal a colleague as any man can possibly expect to have I am sure that all are undergoing a personal sacrifice in allowing Mr Syed Hussain to go to England, for during his absence we will not have the ecstatic delight of listening to Mr Syed Hussain when he belabours his opponents with his rhetoric, but we do so with all good will and real pleasure in another sense, because we know him so well that we are sure we are sending the right man to England (Loud cheers)

Mr Syed Hussain and Mr Gurtu will be second to none in their devotion to duty and in their determination to do what we are asking them to do, *viz*, to put the plain and straight forward issue of Home Rule before the British democracy (Loud cheers)

MR BHULABHAI J DESAI

[Mr B J Desai in wishing both the members of the deputation godspeed, said] —

The occasion is one which marks the greatest endeavour in the fight for national cause The deputation that is now going to England on behalf of the Home Rule League is distinguished from the earlier deputations—which are missions of begging and asking I remember two missions being sent out from India The one confined itself to the enlargement of Legislative Councils, the other to greater employment of Indians in public services. The present deputation is of quite a different nature, these two gentlemen being conscious of the difficulties they will have to encounter, and while the difficulties exist it is the duty of all of us to tell them we are all at their back in their noble endeavours As regards the Home Rule agitation in India even the remotest village of Guzerat knows what Home Rule is Even the commonest peasant knows what Home Rule is I am sure the Home Rule League will suffer from Mr Syed Hussain's absence, but I think that he will do more good by going to England than by staying here I know well Mr Syed's fitness, I know him as a man

who if he is once convinced of a certain thing will always stand to his guns and is therefore fit to discharge his Mission Mr Gurtu is also a self-sacrificing man He had a large practice at the Allahabad bar In order to serve the cause of India he first gave up the profession of law to the profession of education This later on gave way to the larger cause of pleading to the British democracy the righteous cause of India Throughout his career he has been a staunch Congressman I wish the delegates *bon voyage*

HON MR HARCHANDRAI VISHINDAS

The Hon Mr Harchandrai Vishindas, said that as he was commanded only a little while before to offer some remarks, he would very gladly stand before them for a short time He expressed hearty good wishes to the Deputation in carrying out the commission with which they were entrusted He would like to add his great appreciation to Mr Horniman's who had already exhausted the ground He was further glad to speak because though he did not come from Bombay city, he was from the Bombay Presidency He was sure that the deputation would take up their task as a "labour of love" and it was their duty to appreciate the same which would have to be achieved with no little difficulty in the teeth of the strong opposition carried on by men like Lord Sydenham (shame, shame) He then related, in the midst of cheers, his experience with Lord Sydenham, as Governor of Bombay and President of the Bombay Legislative Council, when once the latter spoke to him of the work of the Congress and said it was a good work (laughter) and another time when he (Lord Sydenham) seized an opportunity to lecture him on Indian Nationhood and expressed himself as strongly

in favour of the development of nationhood. (Laughter) But human nature was human nature (laughter) and Lord Sydenham, like some others, found it difficult when it came to the point to give up supremacy (renewed laughter) What they most disliked was that this ruling class wanted to think for them, taking them to be incapable of thinking. This was human nature and they could not help it The proteges of Lord Sydenham, naturally, felt that the power of the Civil Service would be put down and that their day would be over Continuing, Mr Harchandrai said, that they were perfectly confident that their delegates were capable of fulfilling their hopes of achieving the purpose for which they were going there

MR IQBAL NARAIN GURTU

[Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, who was received with applause, spoke in Hindi] —

He emphasized that he and his companions were going to England with the sincere conviction of the whole of India, behind them, that Home Rule and nothing less than Home Rule was going to satisfy them With this conviction they would be encouraged and inspired to fight hard the battle of Home Rule in the home of the English Democracy and he was sure that they would soon achieve the ideal set before them He wished that they would justify adequately the kindness and appreciation shown to them, and confidence reposed in them

MR SYED HUSSAIN

[*Mr Syed Hussain who was welcomed with applause and renewed cheers said*] .—

I feel most grateful for the good wishes and good feelings expressed by all the speakers of this evening so eloquently As I work more and more in the national cause I feel more and more convinced that the real fight for Indian Home Rule has got to be carried on in India though I admit that the delegation to England is a necessary and important part of our programme But the fundamental principle remains that no one can win Home Rule anywhere outside his own land but by the strong struggle which must go on in one's own motherland There is a tremendous need for us at the present time to think clearly in regard to the question of Home Rule Home Rule is the burning topic of the day It has become a common place in this country, and yet I find to my utter surprise a most extraordinary misapprehension and a confusion of ideas in regard to this question in the minds of some who are classed among Home Rulers, who seem to think that Home Rule for India is some kind of boon which will be doled out to India I want you to

realise the situation to realise that Home Rule is not a boon but our birth-right (Cheers) Anything less than this realisation will put off our national goal still further Further I want people to guard against a limited notion of Home Rule There are many who think that Home Rule is some kind of document, or a statute, or a bill, or a gift which Mr Montagu, out of his abounding kindness of heart may be pleased to confer upon India This is a delusion—a suicidal delusion in its consequences which must be guarded against From what I know of Mr Montagu, I can say with confidence that he is a thoroughly well wisher of India and will do justice to India But Home Rule is an infinitely greater thing than to be made a gift of by Mr Montagu or any body else

HOME RULE, A CONDITION OF THE SOUL

My own conviction is that Home Rule for India cannot possibly take the shape of a statute It is a condition of the soul—of the national and individual soul When the people of India feel that it is their birth right to have Home Rule, and feel in their mind that they are free to think and act as Indians then they will have won Home Rule whether they have a statute or not I am a firm believer in constitutional agitation I do not want you to neglect any side of our national activity, but I do not want you to mix the fundamental with 'what is merely now fundamental It is only then that we will be

able to build up that national consciousness, that national freedom,that corporate national conscience and national unity which we are aspiring for It is only then that all the Indians, whether rich or poor, whether Hindus or Moslems, whether Brahmins, or non-brahmins or untouchables, will be working hand in hand, without any caste or communal prejudices (Cheers) So long as we cannot feel that we are one indivisible whole, so long as we cannot do that, we cannot attain Home Rule though established by millions of statutes and conferred by thousands of Secretaries of State It must be a matter of religion with every body to work for his country and to work with a resolution till we feel that we are a free nation, and we shall be a free nation With anything short of it, we shall not deserve to have that National Freedom

I deplore the tendency shown now-a-days to deal in words There are the Curtis scheme, the Congress scheme and innumerable other schemes and memorials

INTERNMENT SCANDAL

I regret that instead of holding thousands of meetings for every deportation the leaders of Bengal have held only one meeting in two years See the persecutions and hardships that our young fellow-citizens in Bengal have to put up with for no criminal offence whatsoever, but for holding to their hearts, their national aims and national ideals. While hundreds and thousands of boys are taken

from the bosom of their families rending their hearts with the result that many have gone mad, many have lost their health, and several have committed suicides,—that this should have gone in broad day light without bringing these detenus to the tribunal of justice and that only one meeting should have been held in two years is most disappointing This is surely not the way to win Home Rule even in constitutional fighting By holding meetings in large numbers we will convince the authorities that they cannot lay a hand on a single soul in this fashion (Loud Cheers) The real national fight for Home Rule is to be fought and won in India, by making united efforts, to understand each other and act together

I acknowledge personally that whatever I can do in the cause of the public I can do only in the peculiar association and company that I am put in with *viz*, the pioneers of the young India movement the real workers in the Home Rule movement which wants India to be free There is an immense contrast between the time that I left for England and when I came to Bombay the former time being rather full of pessimism, and showing a demoralized condition of our people. On my return the scene had changed Whatever I can do is the outcome of the immense inspiration that I receive from the company of friends with whom I am an humble worker I must particularly mention of names of the President of

meeting—Mr Jamnadas Dwarakadas, Messrs. Umar Sobani and Shankerlal Banker (Cheers) I do not mention them because of any personal friendship but on account of the political obligation that I owe them The credit and honour of the success of the Home Rule cause so far is due to them who tended the steady but flickering flame at the beginning and turned it into a blazing torch of National determination and national aspiration

Mr Horniman is too good to me and I cannot speak adequately of what I consciously owe to him Though Mr Horniman is too flattering to me it is perfectly true that I have been his loyal colleague for two reasons The first is that there is nobody in my knowledge, a more staunch, and devoted and trained a well wisher of India than Mr Horniman He has dedicated his whole life for our motherland, and not to be loyal to a man like him who is devoting his life to the cause of India will be a queer subversion of Patriotism Secondly I am loyal to him because we have been good friends for years

I conclude by expressing my confident expectation that when we meet here again, probably in this very hall, we shall have justified our selection by substantially bringing nearer our realisation (Prolonged cheers)

THE HON MR M A JINNAH

[The Shantaram's Chawl compound was the scene on the 27th March of a mass meeting attended by about 15,000 people to give a hearty send off to Mr Tilak and the other members of the Home Rule Deputation

Besides the members of the Deputation Messrs Tilak, Pal, Hon. Mr Khaparde, Messrs Karandikar and N C Kelkar, among those present were Messrs P K Telang, B G Horniman, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Ratansi D Morarji, Dr Munge, Hon Mr S B Upasani, Messrs. K. P Khadilkar, G A Ogle, Dhundiraj Thengdi, S V. Lalit, Drs Velkar and D D. Sathaye, Messrs Khaparde (junior) Umar Sobani, Gangandhara Deshpande, Tuljapurkar Haribhai Amin, M R Jayakar and a large number of ladies and gentlemen The Hon Mr Jinnah who presided, rose amidst loud cheers and said] —

I feel sure that I am voicing the feelings of all assembled that we wish them most heartily *bon voyage* safe journey and every success in their mission No man is more fitted to the views of this democracy here to the English Democracy, than Mr Tilak who has devoted the whole of his life for the national cause and whose words will carry a great weight in England We are maintaining a calm atmosphere for Mr Montagu, who is in this

country investigating the case of Home Rule for India, and let there be no bungling, let it be quite clear that the demand for the immediate step towards the transfer into our hands of the Control of Government of this country and for the marking of a clear road to establish Self-Government, is the united demand of the people of this country

It is the birthright of every man and the laying down of the principle of self-determination for India Mr Tilak will place our case not only before the English Democracy but before the English nation

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

[*Mr Tilak who on rising to speak was received with deafening cheers and loud cries of "Vande Mataram" said*] —

I thank you all very sincerely for the honour done to me and my party, and for the good wishes for our success The principle of self-determination lays down that every nation, every country, has to choose the sort of Government they shall have, and it should precede Self-Government We are determined to have Self-Government in the near future—at an early date—and to have a substantial instalment to begin with While the question of self-determination for the European Nations and the African colonies is discussed India is excluded President Wilson said that Ireland should have self-determination and our Prime Minister convened the Irish convention to draft a scheme of their own, but India without any such declaration, formed a scheme of its own Mr Montagu came to India and studied on the spot in consultation with the members of the Bureaucracy, who were primarily opposed to any sort of Self-Government in this country He is to formulate a scheme and act as umpire and arrive

at a settlement, a compromise between the two parties—the people and the Bureaucracy We want Responsible Government which is agreed to by the Bureaucracy except in connection with the steps and time for establishing it The chances of Mr Montagu's scheme I think, though I am an optimist, are not so bright, as many people imagine them to be Our opponents are trying to impress upon the British people that if Self Government is granted to India the Empire will go to ruin and that in the interests of the Empire India must continue to be governed in a despotic manner A very keen compaign is undertaken by determined people to defeat our object We have to fight two parties—the Cabinet who will have to be convinced and the Sydenhamites, who will have to be—(Mr Jinnah suggested—" suppressed,") as our President suggests suppressed The way is not so smooth, as some believe The question to be determined is whether if Mr Montagu's scheme falls short, the leaders will accept the temptation held out and will be prepared to receive something shadowy, but looking substantial Some of our leaders might advise, our Anglo-Indian friends and newspapers may We are going to plead before the British Democracy the cause of Self-Government for India, taking our stand upon the Congress scheme Stand by us not now but two months after, like men, resolute men, against anything less than the scheme There should be no compromise in the

matter (Applause) If you accept any compromise, we shall be laughed at by the whole world (Cries of No, No) The bureaucracy may try to create a split amongst us The bureaucracy may say that they have done enough and that given something we should be satisfied I warn you, you will ruin your country if you accept any such compromise.

America did not enter the war simply because of German Kaiserdom to be substituted by Bureaucratic Kaiserdom She did not go to help England simply because the latter was her mother country or to protect England, but to stop despotism in any part of the world I want you to be careful, attentive and to act as men—resolute men and to stand by the resolution of the Congress and the Muslim League

[A Ladies' Meeting was held at China Baug to bid good-bye and wish bon voyage to Mr B. G Tilak, Mr G. S. Khaparde, Mr B C Pal and others. A large number of ladies were present at the meeting, representative of the different communities Mrs. Luxmibai Tricumdas presided and Mrs Ramibai Morarji Kamdar, Mrs Sushilabai Jayaker, Mrs Ratanbai Pavri, Mrs Maganbhen Manekbhen, Mrs Airabai Tata and Mrs Godavaribai spoke in eulogistic terms of the services rendered by Mr Tilak to the country. They hoped that he would return to India after accomplishing his work in England Mr Tilak in replying said] —

I thank you for wishing me God'speed I have also to thank you for the meeting you held in the

year 1908 sympathising with me in my misfortunes, as I was unable to do so then In all spheres of activities women are coming to the forefront and you have Mrs Besant, a woman, who is your leader in all patriotic movements It has been said by our enemies that men want Home Rule and women do not, one caste is for Home Rule and another against it, and so on, but this meeting is proof positive that they are wrong This meeting is an encouragement to me, and I will carry your message to England

THE RIGHT MOMENT

Time and tide wait for none, we will never get such an opportunity for which we have been waiting for so many years, and we must do our utmost to take the fullest advantage of it We must make hay while the sun shines The work of the ladies encouraging me in my difficult task is a good augury for the success of my work, and it will be of great help to me in England We must carry the work, which had been handed down to us, by such patriots as Dadabhai Naoroji to a success In all parts of the world, and particularly in India, women have always taken their proper share of the national work and I am not at all surprised that you have met here to wish me success in my endeavours. (Cheers)

[*A large and crowded meeting was held at Dana Bunder in honour of the Home Rule Deputation Mr Jamnadas*

Dwarkadas presided Among those present were Messrs S. R Bomanji, B G Horniman, Laxmidas Tairsee, Narayandas Purshotamdas, Khimji Hirji Kayani, Mavaji Govindji, Drs Sathe, Velkar, Chandulal Desai, Mr S D Navalkar, and many leading grain merchants Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas rose amidst cheers and said] —

This evening's occasion is specially a unique one, as we all have assembled on an occasion, the importance of which is even of a special and unique nature We all have come together to honour, listen and show sympathy for and co-operation with the trusted delegates going to England to put our case for Home Rule before the British public in general, and the justice-loving level-minded and truth-loving people in particular

MR TILAK'S GREAT SERVICE

The work of Mr Tilak is unstinted from the beginning He is the same, undaunted and courageous true son of mother Ind through thick and thin not caring for the frowns of the authorities He takes to his national work, as if he is the only son born of Ind, specially to uplift her He is grossly misunderstood and misrepresented and really suffers for the amelioration of our Motherland His work is acknowledged even by his enemies He is going to England with Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, the Hon Mr Khaparde and Messrs. Kelkar and Karandikar as our delegates and champions to plead our case on behalf of our

Motherland He has the backing of the whole nation We all hope and trust that God's blessings will be showering on him and he will come back with fresh laurels, and there will be the feather of Swarajya in his patriotic cap We all pray God that he will have a speedy *bon voyage* and he may return to our Mother Country with double vigour and redoubtable energy We are carried away by the same sentiments and emotion as when the great Rama left Ayodhya and went to the forest in seclusion The nation and his brothers felt for him in the same way we feel for Mr Tilak As Mr Tilak is going to get Swarajya we wish him *bon voyage* and God speed in his work!

A POSITIVE SUCCESS

[*Mr Tilak then rose to address amidst deafening cheers and said*], --

I am ready to go through all the crucifying ordeals of sea-voyage at this critical and stirring times to secure Home Rule for myself, for my country-men—the living and the coming generations I assert that the whole country is at one on this point A note of dissension is raised in some quarters by vested interests

"MUST GIRD UP OUR LOINS"

We must gird up our loins to face it boldly They have, it is said, collected nearly Rs 30,000 to carry on the anti-Home Rule agitation Lord Sydenham

leads this party and is striving every nerve to spread his propaganda We are here thirty-three crores and we must collect money accordingly for our cause I am hopeful that India is sure to come out triumphant in the end God made time and circumstances favourable to our cause Death will come to any individual sooner or later No one is free from it Old age is the fittest age to undertake this kind of voyage

POLITICAL PARTNERS OF BRITAIN

We will place the real and true state of things before the British public and Parliament, and God willing we are sure that they (the British public) will give a hearty ear to it On your confidence, trust and backbone we (the deputation) took up this responsibility and if you give hearty sympathy and co-operation we are sure to win Let Lord Sydenham and his party bring obstacles in our way, but we must carry on an agitation in India and not to stop unless and until we get what we wanted Nothing short of our demands would satisfy us This we must show them by our agitation and I am sure the battle of freedom will be won"

HON MR MANMOHANDAS RAMJI

[The Second Home Rule Conference was held on 27th March 1918 in the spacious shamiana specially erected near the French Bridge, Chowpatty The pandal was covered with decorations and buntings, and the Home Rule flag was gaily floating on all sides A large volunteer force was in attendance, representing the Bhatia, Home Rule, National and other corps supported by the Boy Scouts (Indian) There was a very large attendance of members in spite of the lateness of the hour, including ladies Outside the shamiana itself a huge crowd waited to catch glimpses of the various speakers, and to hear them, if they could The Hon Mr Manmohandas Ramji, Chairman of the Reception Committee in welcoming the members said] —

Brother Home-Rulers, Ladies and gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in welcoming you all on behalf of the Second Indian Home Rule League Conference The First Conference, as you know, met at Nasik last year and was presided over by Mr Joseph Baptista, who is now so ably, zealously and whole-heartedly serving our country's cause in England You are also aware how crowded the past year had been with momentous events and surprising developments, some of them giving cause

for grave anxiety and others holding out hopes of better and brighter prospects for India and the Empire

Ladies and gentlemen, the object of the present meeting is mainly to review the work of the Home Rule League during the last year and also to decide upon the lines of its absolutely necessary to send immediately a strong and influential deputation to England to represent our case and to place it before the British public properly and authoritatively and as I have a firm faith in the justice-loving instincts of the British Nation, I am sure the right-minded British public will lend a whole-hearted support to India's cause in consideration of what India has already done to help the British Government in the conduct of this great world-wide war Our case is so strong and justifiable that even such valiant knights of the irresponsible bureaucracy as Sir Valentine Chirol and Sir Bampfylde Fuller have refused to fight for the old ideas, shedding only a tear or two over its death and are resignedly preparing themselves for gracefully bowing to the inevitable and early success of Home-Rule in India (Cheers)

JUDGMENT BY DEFAULT

There is absolutely no reason to think that Mr Lloyd George or Mr Asquith or other leaders of England will fail to apply to India the principles for the defence of which they have incurred the

responsibility of shedding rivers of human blood, if the facts of the case are placed before them and the British public by sober and representative Indians. I, for one, believe that the case for India has not been hitherto placed before the British public and the leaders of public opinion in England in that direct, straightforward and authoritative manner which alone can effectively appeal to them and that is one of the reasons why the bureaucracy has so long been able to defer the grant of Home Rule to us In the absence of authoritative deputations to England consisting of men whom the country is known to honour and to trust, despatched specially to argue our case, judgment has by default, gone against us, for the British public has so long heard only one side of the question and has been lulled and cajoled into believing that all was well in India and that the country has the best possible form of Government, administered by the best set of people in the world, namely the bureaucracy If I desired to find fault with any one, I would find fault with my own countrymen in so long allowing judgment in England to go against them by default and letting the bureaucracy in India comfortably to follow its career of irresponsible trusteeship If in the past it was a mistake on our part not to have sent a deputation to England to argue our case there, it will be a grievous folly and an unmitigated crime, not to send it at least now, when the times are, as it were, crying for it The atmosphere of

the whole world is surcharged with democratic ideas, the need for a self-determined form of Government in the case of non-European countries even, is accepted on all hands, principles of justice and liberty are being honoured and fought for with zeal and tenacity never witnessed before in the history of the world I say, proclaim to all Indians that if they care to send a deputation to England pleading for Home-Rule for India, no more suitable and propitious time could be chosen than the present (Hear, hear) The iron is hot, says Mr Bonar Law, and if you wish, strike the iron when it is hot, then only you will be doing what that great statesman has advised people to do

PREMATURE ?

I am not unaware, ladies and gentlemen, that there are some people even amongst our countrymen, who think that the iron is still not hot as it ought to be and that we would be better advised to defer sending our deputation for, I do not know, how many days or months Let the Montagu scheme of proposed reforms be published, it is said, and it will be time enough to send a deputation, after the scheme put forward is weighed in the balance and its exact weight and measurements are accurately determined Ladies and gentlemen, I for one fail to see why, knowing as we do what we want and are determined to have, we should wait to see what others want to dole out to us. Much less do I

see why we should suspend our efforts in making known to the world in general and the British public in particular, what we want and why we want it If the dole which will be offered to us be commensurate with our demand, our efforts in England will strengthen Mr Montagu's and the Government's hands by already contributing to enlist the sympathies of the British public in that behalf If, on the other hand, the proposed Governmental dole falls short even of our humble expectations, then, our efforts in England will not have been a moment premature, for in that case we shall have to fight our battle in England, for which battle the preliminary batches of deputations might serve as reconnoitring and pioneering parties, if not as sappers and miners At any rate we Home Rulers think that the time *has* come when the first batch of our representatives should proceed to England to carry on a wider and more organized scale, what Mr Baptista has so ably begun

We are happy to find that our sister league which was started by the gifted lady, Mrs Besant, not long after our League was established and which is doing very valuable educative and propagandist work in India, in intimate co-operation and co-ordination with us— this esteemed sister league, too, I am happy to find, has recently sent the first batch of representative Indians to plead for our cause in England

PERSONNEL OF THE DEPUTATION

What is to be the personnel of our first batch is known to most of you and I am sure I shall not be guilty of abusing the confidence of the League, if I say that the pioneering party consisting of our esteemed leader, Mr Tilak, Mr Bepin Chandra Pal, the Hon Mr G S Khaparde, Mr N C Kelker and Mr R P Karandiker, will have as its friend, philosopher and guide Mr Bal Gangadhar Tilak,—that marvellous genius, who, is as eminent a man of letters as he is as a man of action, who has won admiration from his friends and foes alike by his original researches as by his patriotic sacrifices, who has not only preached in his immortal work the *Gita Rahasya*, the ideal of *Karma Yoga*, but is himself an embodiment of the same ideal Our deputation starting under such leadership and at such a propitious moment cannot fail to be effective May God grant that this beloved leader of ours, this revered *Guru*, this modern *Rishi* might live to see realized the ideal for which he is labouring for the past decade and more

WORK OF THE LEAGUE

Ladies and gentlemen, I shall not detain you much longer I should have liked to refer to the very satisfactory progress in our membership achieved during the last year and also the ever increasing popularity of our ideal, as evinced among other things by the voluntary subscriptions and

princely donations which have been showered upon our leader during his recent tours undertaken for the purpose of diffusing among the masses a knowledge of the aims and objects of our League, in an intelligible form I should have liked to speak a few words on this delightful topic, but knowing that the report of the General Secretary will refer to these matters in more accurate terms I desist from the attempt Before concluding my address, however, please allow me on behalf of the Reception Committee again to welcome you to this annual conference, which I feel, marks an important advance in the aims and methods of work of the people's party in the country as against the bureaucratic and Anglo-Indian mercantile clique on the other, I thank you sincerely for coming here and giving a patient hearing to me and close with the words of the poet

> " Be strong, we are not here to play, to dream, to drift,
> We have hard work to do and loads to lift,
> Shun not the struggle, face it, 'Tis God's gift "

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

[Mr Tilak in his concluding remarks at the Second Home Rule Conference said] —

Last year I had to answer certain objections in the course of my speech at the Home Rule Conference held at Nasik First I had to tell the objectors that the Home Rule League was not started as a rival institution to the Indian National Congress but as an institution that would help the Congress in carrying out its resolutions into effect At the Lucknow Congress I tried my best to get the Congress to consent to send a deputation to England, myself undertaking to collect money for the purpose, but my offer was slighted and a couple of dozen trustees were appointed to be in charge of the funds of the Congress I do not like to blame anybody for what then happened in the Congress about my suggestion Bengal has hitherto done little work in the direction of Home Rule, and the United Provinces have done less Some of the Congress leaders have expressed their fear that the Home Rule League will make the Congress work difficult to be done by them The Home Rulers depend on the purity of their conscience in doing their work in spite of what people opine as regards their efforts Mr Montagu may publish his scheme perhaps in

England and India simultaneously, and then the Home Rulers will be on their trial It is possible that after that scheme is published, the Bureaucracy in India will deceive the people with half a loaf The Bureaucracy do not want to give the people of India anything, although they echo the sentiment of Parliament that responsible government is the goal of the British Government in this country The Bureaucracy will not give the right of self-determination to Indians They say they, as guardians of the Indian people, will exercise their own judgment in the matter of self-determination Even the ignorant agriculturist in this country now realises what is meant by responsible government being the goal of the British policy in India Even the agriculturist now knows that the Civil Servant must be under his control

INDIA'S EMASCULATED MAN-POWER

The map of the world is being changed in this war India cannot take part in this war because her sons are emasculated under the Bureaucratic policy I use the expression 'emasculated' because the late Sir Pherozeshah Mehta used it before Nevertheless India wants to take credit in saving the Empire No one can now save the Bureaucracy from the consequences of its policy of emasculating the people of this country It is a great humiliation for• the Empire that at this crisis it has to appeal to Japan and America

when it can have availed itself of the crores of Indian subjects, if they were trained for military purposes Now that the world's history is being changed India must be strengthened in order to strengthen the Empire The whole constitution of India requires to be modified Substantial rights must be given to the Indian people Mr Montagu came here not on account of the cries of the Congress, but because he was a statesman, who saw danger ahead in India from the changed circumstances in the world's history In England they have statesmen and in India we have talkers The people of India should be up and doing and not allow Mr Montagu to go to England and say he managed the thing successfully though he may not have done anything Mr Montagu should not be allowed to go to England and say there that the Indian people are so foolish that he could cleverly manage to delude them After Mr Montagu's scheme is published there will be a special Congress here. Indians should now speak fearlessly, because the days of repression are gone The realisation of the people of India's hope for self-government is within a measurable distance The faith which the deputation has in obtaining Home Rule will take us safe to England and enable us to overcome all obstacles

INDIAN DEPUTATION AT MADRAS

[In response to Mrs Besant's invitations to meet Lok Tilak and Deputation at a Dinner party in Blavatsky Gardens at 8 30 p m many were present Tables were laid out under the banyan tree which was illuminated with electric lights and the whole scene looked like a fairy land Mrs Besant presided at the middle of the long table. The first toast proposed by Mrs Besant was as usual that of the "King-Emperor" and it was drunk in the usual manner

LOKAMANYA TILAK

Mrs Besant next proposed the toast of "Lok Tilak and the Deputation" and in doing so said We all know that Lok Tilak and the other members of the Deputation are going to Great Britain to plead the cause of India, to assert her place in the Empire, and to address themselves especially to the democracy of Great Britain in order to win their assent to the Statute which we hope will soon be passed I do not propose to stand between you and our guests I will only ask all of you to drink their health and to wish them a hearty success, carrying on your wishes for them while they are away until they return amongst us, and I join with the toast the names of Lok Tilak the Hon Mr Khaparde and Mr Bepin Chandra Pal

Mr Tilak in reply, said] —

I thank you, Mrs Besant, for the honour you have done me and for including my name in the

toast It has been said that we are going outside India to plead the cause of India Our going outside is necessary at this moment for various reasons It has been asked why we should go out of India In fact, I was one of those who thought about ten years ago that by going out of India to plead the cause of India so much cannot be done as by agitating in India That was my opinion and I dare say possibly some people may quote it against me even now—they have long memories But times have changed and a man who does not change his opinion with the times is sure to be deceived Things which were seditious once have ceased to be seditious The Empire and the Parliament have learnt what the value of India is at present The administration of the bureaucracy was to a certain extent glittering in the view, but all that glitters is not gold, and it has been found out now that whatever be the appearance of the bureaucratic administration, it carries under it the seeds of decay Bureaucratic administration was good It made railways, it made telegraphs, it made post offices, and so on and so on, and then imports and exports were increased, but all that brought about the emasculation of this country, and this was not brought to the notice of the British democracy And that fact has now been brought to the notice of the British democracy, for they wanted men to fight the battles of the Empire and looked to India, but found that the Indian Government was not ready,

and was unable to supply the necessary man-power, although there were thirty crores of people The people too are willing to work and fight for the Empire In spite of their willingness and in spite of their numbers, it is now found necessary to appeal to other Nations for help What is it due to? I say that it is due entirely to the bureaucratic administration of the country, the object of which was the keeping of the Nation emasculated with a view to carry on the whole administration of the country with a few hundreds or thousands of soldiers, and that India should be kept under military subjection with the aid of the British naval and military power The Parliament and the British people know that but for this bureaucratic administration during the last 100 or 120 years, they would have been in a position to command a much larger man-power than hitherto from India So long as this fact is known, and so long as the importance of it is realised, it is our time and opportunity to work for our right It is this fact that has not been properly noticed even in Indian papers and much less in Anglo-Indian papers, because it is not their business to notice it The fact is, however, there But this is exactly the time when we should put forward our demand, not in our own interests but in the interests of the Empire You will be heard I am confident that we shall be heard (Hear, hear) The case is ready. The circumstances are such These circumstances

did not exist ten years ago, but now is the time, and you must strike while the iron is hot It is our faith After we go there we hope we shall succeed This is the best time to urge our claim, not merely on the ground of liberty, not merely on the ground of right No doubt I said that Home Rule is our birthright, but birthrights are not always recognised and you must work for them This is the time when we can work with much profit to ourselves Men to whom we go must realise the need themselves, and then when we press our claim, there is the greatest chance of our prayers, requests or entreaties being heard That is one reason why our Home Rule League is also sending a deputation Much has been said that these are times of danger that there are dangers above the surface of water and below the surface of water But when time comes for work it is for us to stick to that work and not leave it whatever the difficulties are Dangers there are, and where do you find a place free from dangers? Do you mean to say that there is no danger where I am now standing? No one knows when the danger will come But I hope that with your good wishes, with the blessings of Providence, we shall succeed in this mission and we must succeed That is our faith, that is our firm conviction We are carrying with us as I said, not our own fortune but the fortune of the whole of India (Cheers), and when we carry with us that fortune we must feel sure that the case is so strong

based on Karma that whatever our individual difficulties may be, whatever the difficulties in the way may be, Providence is with you and you are bound to succeed, or as the Shastras say *Yato Dharma thato Jayah* We shall do all that we can to attain success, but I may assure you that if we succeed in the end, much depends upon your good wishes, your work here, your sympathy with us, and your unflinching support We are going as your spokesmen We are not going for ourselves We are going for the country We know what dangers there are on the way, and yet feel that there is a certain call from Providence, from higher sources, and we cannot resist the temptation of responding to the call I cannot resist I feel I must go, and so also my colleagues think We are going on a mission of Dharma We are going on a mission which involves the fortunes of the whole of India, and there ought to be no hesitation about it There is a story that when Cæsar was going from Italy to Greece in a ship, there was a storm on the way, and then the sailors refused to carry him farther Cæsar threw of the mask, and addressed the sailors and said "You are not carrying your fortunes with you, but you are carrying Cæsar and his fortunes with you ' After these words, the sailors carried him to Greece and he succeeded in his plan Such is the case at present This is not the place to go into full details to explain what is in my mind and in the minds of my collea-

gues, and I may tell you once for all that for success in our efforts we depend upon your sympathy and upon your support So stick to what you have asked for till now Without that force behind us it is impossible for us to do anything We hope that we shall derive inspiration, support and strength from that force, and we ask you all to lend us your support as you have been doing hitherto I thank you again for your good wishes and pray Providence, that is working behind us, in front of us, or as the *Gita* says, on all sides of us, will not fail us, and that if we show sufficient courage, sufficient determination then we are bound to succeed by the grace of God (Cheers)

THE HON MR KHAPARDE

The Hon Mr Khaparde in the course of his reply said —

You know that of all animals, man is the only animal that laughs, and the greatest human part is to make men laugh I shall cheer the other members of the Deputation on the way and in England also we shall have joking In that matter of enjoying jokes there is no difference between an Indian subject and a British The only difference between the two sets of people is that an Indian subject committing an offence is treated differently from a British subject committing an offence As to pleading the cause of Home Rule I do not call it pleading at all In fact, no pleading is necessary it is being done by others Our pleading is to ask the British nation to save their Empire and to make sure that they ensure it, and the ensurance of the safety of the Empire is the granting of liberty to India If this portion of the British Empire is not granted all its rights and everything to fulfil its own destiny, then I am afraid our great Empire over which the Sun never sets is running in danger and a serious danger too They told me that in Great Britain there are fine sights to see, how aeroplanes go out,

etc Then he knew that people who fight are laughter-loving people That is a peculiarity of human nature all over the world Whoever fights sings Whoever fights always laughs It is a man who does not laugh that we may be afraid of The English people are a very wise and practical people They may say what they like, they may write what they like, but if they perceive that it is to their interest to change a certain thing, you will see them change it in one night You have got only to make it sure that they understand and see the situation and I believe that some of them have begun to see that the Empire is in danger of some kind They do not exactly see the danger but they appear to know that you have got men, money and materials A gun does not fire itself and to produce a free motion we need some fulcrum There must be a man behind the gun I thank you very sincerely for your good wishes

BABU BEPIN CHANDRA PAL

Mrs Besant, Ladies and Gentlemen Mr Khaparde and myself were in England ten years ago, that was his first visit though my second visit We had a pleasant time of it then Things have considerably changed in India and in England There has been a change in world politics also In 1907 or 1908 it was said that I was responsible for a good deal of mischief especially in this city and in this presidency, though I did not myself see that it went very much farther than things went in other provinces without my inspiration In those days that work had to be done I do not repent anything that I had done then I do not withdraw one single word that I had uttered here in Madras ten years ago That was necessary then for the quickening of our own National self-consciousness That was necessary for creating confidence in the people of this country That was necessary to further the reconciliation we have arrived at the present time I do not believe that there can be any synthesis without a previous antithesis, that there can be any real permanent reconciliation without the parties who are going to be reconciled understanding their strength and their weakness also In

those days we all looked up to the bureaucracy to do everything for us We wanted everything to be done by the Government and very little to be done by the people We now call that a mendicant policy, and we do not believe that political rights can come to India as a Christmas gift from a generous British Government We believe that as every other nation had to work for it, sacrifice for it, and fight for it We had to arouse National self-consciousness with a view to the reconciliation that was coming all these years Those times have gone Now far-seeing statesmanship in England has commenced to recognise that the interest of the Empire lies, not in keeping India weak and helpless, but in making India self-sufficient, self-reliant, self-protected We also on our part have come to recognise that our future in view of world complications lies in the continuance of the British connection, and not in the severance of that connection by any sudden outburst of revolutionary patriotism As long as we had to consider England only we had no fear, as long as we had to consider any other European Power we had no fear But now we stand face to face with world complications On one side there is menace in Central Asia In the East there is the geographical and political destiny of China and Japan, and in view of these things, where would India be with an extensive sea board extending from China to Karachi without a single man of War, with an

extensive land frontier and without an Indian militia? We want the continuance of the British connection because we want a National navy, because we want a National army, because we want to organise our National defence force with a view to protect ourselves from all sorts of foreign complications in the immediate future, and the present War has brought home the idea to the British statesmen that India must be given full Responsible Government if she is to continue inside the Empire They have come to recognise that the breaking up of British connection with India would spell complete collapse to the British Empire They have come to recognise that India is willing to remain within the British Empire under proper conditions If India is to remain inside the British Empire, not as a drag but as help to that Empire, it would be necessary to give free scope to the people of India to take their proper share in the defence of India and of the Empire, that is, they must be enlisted in the artillery, in the cavalry, in the navy but you cannot induce large numbers of people to join your army or your navy or other departments of the defence force unless you remove causes of discontent He is no statesman who would invite a population to join the National army, without first making up his mind to completely remove the causes of National dependence and National grievance The moment the Government invited Bengali young men to

form a regiment, I made up my mind that the Government decided to grant us Home Rule You know who the Bengali youths are You cannot believe that two thousand people represent the political suspicion in Bengal The Government suspect the youth of the Province and their loyalty, and think that they are inclined to revolutionary ideas, and yet in the face of all those things—last year Sir Reginald Craddock said that several thousands of young men were ready to rise in rebellion—the Government invited Bengali youths to join the regiment, and, when they extended that invitation, I saw their determination to grant us Home Rule The Indo-British Association and Anglo-Indian journals do not see much beyond the counter, much beyond their daily gains, they do not see much beyond the list of subscribers, but responsible British statesmanship and responsible statesmen in every part of the world who have a grip of the world situation understand that unless the different Nationalities at present dependent are placed on their feet and given full right of Self-Government and self-determination, the peace of the world can never be ensured In the interests of the British Empire and of the world, it has become absolutely necessary that India should be given Home Rule When the world wants Home Rule for India, when civilisation demands that India should be given Home Rule in its own interest, when the Empire demands that India should be

given Home Rule in its own interest, when the British statesmanship has commenced to recognise the necessity of granting Home Rule or Responsible Government in the interests of the Empire, we do not go to England to beg or ask for favours, we ask them to save themselves and in the act of saving themselves to save us also Ten years ago we would not have gone to England on a mission like this, because that would have been a mission of mendicancy To-day we go on a mission of humanity, on a mission of salvation of others, and salvation of the Empire We see the reconciliation of Imperial interests with the National interests of India, and so our mission is bound to succeed I thank Mrs Besant for the kind words she has said about the Deputation, and you, for the hearty way in which you have received the toast of the Deputation, and I ask you to constantly pray not for us personally but for the success of the mission, and if you do so with your sympathy and will-power we shall succeed and there is no power not even of Lord Sydenham, that will fail us (Cheers)

[*Mr N C Kelkar said*] —

That of all the scenes in recent times in connection with the tour of the Deputation now on its way to England, the one scene which would always remain in his mind was the one of that night's entertainment Their mission was a difficult mission, but he hoped that they would make their impression on the British public by the inherent

strength of their cause, and as their cause was a righteous cause, they were bound to succeed

[*Mr R P Karandikar said*] —

That the Deputation was resolved to stick to the Congress League Scheme of reforms As pointed out by Mr Pal, even in spite of Lord Sydenham their mission was bound to succeed The members of the Deputation would describe in what respects the bureaucratic administration had failed to satisfy India's needs and how the grant of Home Rule for India would do away with the monopoly which the British bureaucracy enjoyed in this country The Deputation would be asked various questions about woman's education, about the right of backward classes and depressed classes What he felt most was that while the Deputation was pleading the cause of India before the British democracy, if there was any flinching in the course adopted by the Congress and the Muslim League, the Deputation would be in a difficulty If there was the slightest wavering, there would be danger before them in England and before them here The success of the Mission would depend upon what actually took place in India and he appealed to them to stick to the Congress-League programme of reforms

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

In replying to the Presentation of Addresses given by the Maharattas and Andhras of Madras, Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak said —

My Andhra and Mahratta Friends

I join my Mahratta and Andhra friends together for this reason The principles of administration which were followed bv Mahratta Government were as you are all aware borrowed from the Andhra Government at Vijiyanagar So we Mahrattas owe something to you Andhras Those principles were eventually copied by Shivaji and his administrators So there is that link which still exists and I find in the two addresses presented to me a similar combination That combination still exists and I should say is still working Though the languages may be different the one is Dravidian and the other Maharatta, the hearts are one Both of us, I believe, are actuated by the same feelings for that subordinate naturality which goes to make up the whole Nation I am one of those who hold that the development of India will be much facilitated if vernaculars are developed and if provinces are redistributed according to language I expressed that sentiment and opinion long ago, long before the

Andhra agitation commenced We can appeal to our people better through vernaculars, than in English English can never become the language of the masses We must appeal to them through their own vernaculars, and this has been one of the chief objects of my life, and tell you once for all why I devoted more attention to the *Kesari* than to English papers It appeals to them more Can a foreign language be the language of this country? English may become a *lingua franca* which will connect different parts of India which are developing themselves That is my view and I have ever supported that view in my papers and speeches So you need not have any doubt as regards the sentiments expressed here India can only be something like the United States, small States all over India, each State having a language of its own, all united together by one common language But then it is impossible for us to give up our vernaculars and you can never wipe out all vernaculars and make substitutes for them When Home Rule comes all these provinces are likely to be divided Now the question is whether we should put this question in front of the question of Home Rule I should like to place Home Rule in front If you go and consult the bureaucracy, they say "We give you the redistribution of Provinces and not Home Rule" For it would increase posts of Lieutenant Governors and Governors What we say is "Grant us Home Rule and we shall look to all these

matters" I do not want to put this question in the back ground, for it is safer to ask for Home Rule as it is more comprehensive Do not press just now for redistribution of the Provinces It will come in its own time and the development of vernaculars also will come in its own time All those follow if once Home Rule is granted Our agitation and our efforts must therefore at present be directed for securing Home Rule for India Speaking in this hall which bore the name of my friend Mr Gokhale, I may remind you that when he went to England ten years ago to fight for you, he wanted to get Home Rule but the limitation and the time were not favourable It is plainly told in Lord Morley's reminiscences that Home Rule for India was aimed at Lord Morley said that was impossible and India must be content with association with administrators and not participation in administration You must clearly understand his distinction between association and participation The English language is wide enough to express all these shades and differences

At that time the idea which was preached was association And Lord Morley by his reforms sought to associate Indians with the real administrators, the bureaucratic administrators of the land That was all that could be done at that time The times have changed since and the Government have recognised that the goal of British administration should be Responsible Government for India Now

there is greater latitude to work up our ideal We go under more favourable circumstances and it is quite possible now to realise that ideal, though Lord Morley did not see it at that time and said that as far as he could see, within the range of his vision he could not conceive of Home Rule for India What was impossible ten years ago became possible now We are going in that change of atmosphere, change of opinion and change of circumstances, in fact when everything was changed I am confident that if we are now going with determination, it is not impossible for us to obtain Home Rule We are working in changed times and altered circumstances Mr Gokhale did his best and let us do our best We are going with determination to fight The association ideal has been worked up and something must be done that we may get some participation which will lead to the ultimate goal of Responsible Self-Government, that was promised by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy So what instalment are we to get? The minimum is the reforms we asked for, and the maximum is Responsible Self-Government What you get depends upon your exertions They are bound to go beyond what Lord Morley said and they have recognised this in course of time Now all depends upon your initiative and your exertions If you stick to your ideal, the Congress-League Scheme, then you are bound to get it If you allow yourselves to be taken away from your goal by

allurements, I dare say it will be your own fault You will be told that now you get as 2 and then as 6 and that in 20 years you will get the full rupee No, you should insist upon the Congress League Scheme as the first instalment You know that you are working for the Empire The present conditions in India must be changed the character of the bureaucratic administration requires to be changed In the interests of the Empire we must see that we have enough power in our hands to change the character of the bureaucracy Let us have full power to change the policy and character of the bureaucratic administration and once that character is changed, in 10 or 15 years, India would be as great as Japan And the English statesmen and the Empire will then have no need to trust Japan, they can trust India If they trust India, India shall be equal to all the Asiatic Nations put together, including Japan That is our ideal We are now trying to obtain that power over the administration of the country, financial control, control of the executive, and sufficient majorities in the Legislative Councils These three things achieved everything will follow They are the master key So your demand should now be for the Congress League Scheme You must not accept less If you accept anything less, you will in a great degree not only hamper the progress of but ruin the country We shall be insisting upon the Congress-League Scheme What will be your

demand? Do you say that you are prepared to accept less while we are fighting for the scheme? The Congress has formulated it, the Muslim League has formulated it, the Home Rule League has formulated it, and we of the deputation have taken that as the basis of our work If you say you accept less, you take away the foundations Remember that if you support us with your determination, that if you are not prepared to accept anything less, you will enable us to return to India with success We go relying not on our strength or efforts, but we rely upon the wishes of Providence which are favourable to us It is no question of age, it is no question of infirmity We have a call from above We are simply obeying that call whatever infirmities are I have no doubt, I am perfectly confident that in following that call we are obeying the call of Providence, and Providence is graciously pleased to lead us to success (Loud and continued cheers)

MR G S KHAPARDE

Mr Khaparde in the course of his speech, in a homely style, said —

The British people had said that you were good people but wanted to arrange for you as they thought you did not know how to arrange and manage your affairs And they had been managing. We said their management was unsuccessful but they said it was highly successful There were two schools of thought, some of these spoke of orderly progress, progress from step to step from point to point, from precedent to precedent Supposing you wished to ride Now you must first get hold of the horse, then you must learn to groom, then to saddle it Those were the stages When the further stage came you had to learn to place your left foot in the left stirrup and then wait for some time, and learn to bridle it And then eventually you would be able to ride it That was the theory, how, it was wrong in its inception and in its conception because if you put your left foot in the left stirrup and waited till the next stage, the horse was likely to kick and run away If somebody held the reins and you were in the saddle, he would

lead you in one direction, you would ride in another and probably the horse a third The proper way to teach riding was to place you on the horse and teach the horse and the rider together It was no good putting a child on a trained horse Let it be a colt instead of a trained horse, and let the child and colt learn together The view held up to us was that we should learn to manage first a village, then a taluq, then a district, then a pargana, then the Government of India My idea was that we should be placed on the Government of India You saw that some of the buildings and temples at Ellora had been built from top downwards What had Simon de Montfort done with his parliament? He did not begin it with a village Why should English experience be forgotten now? Let us not be misled by analogies You had to clear the path for yourselves With the eminent head we had got in Mr Tilak, all the difficulties would be smoothened What lay in my power and the power of my friends we would do and you at home should keep the fire burning, should carry on the agitation When you asked for a thing, let it not be for a little You should ask for the highest If you asked little by little, the giver of it gets tired and the receiver would never get anything Do not be led away by long words and phrase The western civilisation was contractual and ours was natural Let us follow our own and let the contractual civilisation.

be left to England It had led to a fight between the rich and the poor, between the landed and the people without lands, between servant and master Then they always spoke of rights, whereas in India we always spoke of duties and not rights Let us not be misled by long words and phrases I had been hearing of sympathy ever since I was a child, since 1856 and long before the Mutiny Let your aims be fixed high, let them be stuck to and let no compromise be accepted One of the signs of great men was that they never would have small aims Do not be satisfied with tinkerings When a man was athirst, he would not be satisfied with one drop now, another drop after some time, and a third drop after waiting for sometime longer He would ask for the whole lota at once (Cheers and continued applause)

BABU BEPIN CHANDRA PAL

Mr B C Pal who was invited to speak said in the course of his speech —

The situation is favourable You all know that it would not have been possible either for Mr Tilak or any of us to come to you this time last year It was one of those cases "whereas you have acted, or are going to act—you are not allowed to enter this presidency" That would have been last April Last April when I went to Shikarpur the Government did not want me to speak there I refused to speak, and to save old friends I did not attend the Conference When I went to Bombay the Commissioner of Police said to them 'you see the Defence of India Act It is a matter between you and me kindly do not open your mouth here If you do, I have enough power to set you regret it" Bombay was partly under military law When this time I went to Bombay I did not see the Police Commissioner We were given the most freedom to say anything What has brought about this change? First of all, your determination to stand by your leaders and not to allow the Government to suppress them at their will That determination won back Mrs Besant to us, and the Government,

not even the British bureaucracy in India, are going to put their foot in that hole again So something is gained in this your determination is the first thing The next thing is this There was some trouble or attempt to create trouble in England over Mrs Besant's release and the new declaration of policy in the Parliament Lord Sydenham tried to raise a debate in the House of Lords and in the course of the debate Lord Islington, the Under Secretary of State for India, said it would be asked why they raised the constitutional question regarding India in the midst of war He said that the question agitated India for many years, but that was no reason Later on Lord Hardinge has been impressed with the urgency of reforms, but even that was not sufficient Lord Chelmsford referred to the gravity of the situation But Lord Hardinge counted upon the early termination of the War If the War terminated this time last year India would not have heard about the new policy If I had the ears of the Government of India, or if Mr Tilak and all of us, the Tilak gang for the last ten years since 1906, I am sure, madam and gentlemen there would have been no German War We would have repealed the Arms Act, equipped, trained the immense man-power of India and presented it to Great Britain, the immense man-power of Germany, would have even prevented Germany from entering into War with England If the War has come upon you it is due to your suicidal policy If this War continued

to this day it is due to your continuing the policy of distrust If you, trusted us in the beginning of the War we were willing to fight for you We forget all the past insults, all your insolence, and all the denials and why ? Because the old spirit of Indian chivalry cannot bear the sight of even of those who had given insults, cannot bear to stand aloof, when thay are in danger Had we not been Indians, had we been even American, we would have looked upon England's calamity as our opportunity We refused to do it Why ? Because we have been a chivalrous people We never quarrel with any people while they are in difficulties We allow them to rise to their full stature and then enter into the tussle Hundreds of young men offered to serve in the War You would not accept If you do not accept us as fighting units, accept us as helpers for the wounded, we shall be dooly-bearers even cried out Bengal But Simla thought it was a joke Yet it asked for 2000 and we offered 6000 as ready to join the regiments Simla found it was no joke and quiet But lately it came to us begging for soldiers Srish Chunder Chatterji was viewed by the Government of Bengal as a troublesome man, but Lord Ronaldshay, when he was recently in Dacca, thanked him for the help that has been rendered for recruitment That is what the situation has come to They wanted help Let it be late rather than never We are thankful for it We are prepared to help.

But there are conditions We impose no conditions There are conditions within themselves which they must fulfil They must trust us We must be convinced that they trust us We say that in fighting for their Empire, we are fighting for our own nationality and that is the situation That is the gravity of the situation The Government of India have constantly telegraphed about the gravity of the situation We do not allow the gravity of the situation to be eased sufficiently that the bureaucrats might persuade the Government in England to go back upon their promises they have given Hold firmly the ideal of Home Rule, work for it without fear and at the same time without violence The combination of courage with calm dignity to do the right as the right, and then to take the consequences of doing the right, that is what we want Shrink not, but hold firm the right and by the grace of God you will attain your right (Cheers)

MRS ANNIE BESANT

[Lokamanya Tilak in response to the invitation of the President to speak in vernacular for the benefit of the large number of ladies of the Maharashtra community, made a short speech in Mahratti Mrs Annie Besant in closing the proceedings, said] —

In your name I wish Lokamanya Tilak and the deputation full success in their noble work We shall follow them with our trust, with our prayers

Mr Tilak said that providence is with us Remember the old cry with which Europe once took arms against Asia in a crusade, *Dieu le veult* God wills it Let that be our battle cry—that God wills that India shall be free In your name and in the name of the millions of Indian people I say to the head of the Deputation and the Deputations, but above all to you, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, India places her trust in you and we know that that trust will never be betrayed.

SIR SUBRAMANIA IYER

[The sun was hot and the grounds of Gauri Vilas were not shaded The people knew it and still the people came Long before the hour of the meeting, not in hundreds but in thousands people had assembled there, to set their eyes on the face of the patriot who is the idol of the people

A platform was erected and a few seats and a table accommodated the leaders Sir Subramania Aiyar received a fine ovation as he came on the scene and he was there early Brahmanas and non-Brahmanas Muslims and Hindus—all were there and all those whom it may concern take note for a hundredth time that all the communities and castes are united in their demand to obtain which Lok Tilak and his friends are going to Great Britain Some 20,000 assembled people were of one mind and one will and lustily cheered every reference for the gaining of Home Rule and that not as a boon but as a matter of right justice and necessity

The arrival of Lok Tilak and his party was made known by the Nagaswaram and the beating of drums and the whole crowd burst into cries of welcome People fell at the feet of the Lokamanya, and it was sometime before his party could reach the platform By this time the enthusiasm of the large audience was tremendous and the people relieved themselves by shouting "Tilak Maharaj Ki Jai"

When the party reached the platform defeaning shouts and cheers greeted the deputation and another few minutes passed As the audience was settling down Sir Subramania Aiyar with the help of friends ascended the table—the high platform was not high enough for the grand meeting Our venerable leader received an ovation In a few words he welcomed Lok Tilak and his friends to Madras and asked Mr C P Ramaswami Aiyar to read his speech] —

The people of our Presidency are enjoying a very great privilege in being able to welcome at our capital the patriotic friends who have so nobly and readily come forward to go forth and represent India before the British public at this great juncture in our National affairs It is indeed an unexpected privilege and therefore all the more prized by us *In limine*, it is my duty to offer on behalf of the several political bodies, who are seeking at this meeting to do honour to our worthy delegates, the thanks due for thus affording us the opportunity of formally expressing our high sense of and deep obligation to them for the invaluable service which they are about so opportunely to render to the Motherland in the discharge of their self-imposed mission To be sure, India could not send out for the purpose, which the mission is charged to carry out, more capable and more true representatives than the members of the Deputation now to our utmost gratification, in our midst It would be inadmissible on an occasion like this to dwell upon

the high qualifications which each and every one of our delegates brings to the discharge of the great task undertaken by them. Nevertheless, I am sure I shall be forgiven when I say that the delegates as a body could not possibly go forth under better leadership than that of the greatest of living Indians Lokamanya Tilak, whose very name is such as to inspire the dullest and the most *tamasic* of his countrymen with warm sentiments of genuine patriotism and self-sacrifice in the interests of Bharatavarsha. It would hardly be possible for me to find words that would adequately convey our appreciation of the stupendous work to the performance of which Mr Tilak has devoted his time and money, his most rare talents, nay, dedicated his whole life, with a perseverance and invincibleness altogether unparalleled in the history of the political activities of recent generations. It should be further remembered that this work has been vigorously and unflinchingly carried on in spite of his detractors, influential as they were, who though desirous of advancing the political interests of the country did not possess that wide vision and clear insight which have been Mr Tilak's characteristics all through. It is simple justice to Mr Tilak to add that he was the first fearlessly to demand Home Rule for India and to labour hard in furthering the cause and the credit due to him on this account is above what can be claimed for on behalf of every other worker in the

field including the President of the last Congress who guided its deliberations with a power, tact and wisdom peculiarly hers Great as has been Mr Tilak s suffering, sacrifice and loss in thus tirelessly working for Mother India, it cannot but be a source of real satisfaction to him actually to see the beginnings of the fruition of his undaunted devotion to the land of his birth It is scarcely necessary to say that the visit of the Secretary of State marks that beginning It is undeniable that the labours of Mr Tilak and his faithful adherents in Maharashtra have in no small measure contributed to the visit of a member of the Cabinet of the standing ability and character of the Right Hon E S Montagu One tangible advantage ascribable to the presence of that Minister in the country is the sending of our representatives on deputation to England with Mr Tilak at its head For his fame is such as to command attention and certainly will be productive of the best results Many are the points on which I should have liked to dwell at this meeting did time and circumstances permit I must however content myself with detaining you only for a few minutes with reference to what strikes me as the most suggestive inference to be drawn from Mr Tilak's recent tour in his Presidency with a view to obtain funds for the purposes of the deputation The success which attended this tour affords incontrovertible proof of the crucial fact that the demand for Home Rule is not a preposterous claim by the

so called educated clique but the irresistible demand of the masses themselves Now let us remember that the purses presented to their beloved leader during the tour were made up of small amounts voluntarily contributed by the very humblest, the collections themselves being made at the very shortest notice Among them were those of the 16,000 mill-hands of the City of Bombay whose anna collections amounted to the comparatively large sum of Rs 1,000 Surely this ought to suffice to rebut the false cry of the bureaucrats and Anglo-Indians about the alleged attitude of the dumb millions in what is so vital to their own interests I would only add that every pie that went to make up the purse was verily the offering and the accompaniment of the prayers to God from the thousands and thousands of the donors that their Motherland may come soon to enjoy the birthright of Self-Government as a part of the Empire It follows from this that the delegates will be found before the British public supported still by the spiritual force of those countless by prayers which cannot and will not go in vain

Be this as it may, we must not overlook the fact that there should be no slackening whatsoever in our efforts to gain our birthright of equality with the self-governing dominions in the Empire Let us be full of hope that those efforts are bound to be crowned with success in the long run What else can be our attitude when men like not only Mr

Tilak but also Mr M K Gandhi, whose utterly selfless career since his return from Africa is shedding lustre on the Motherland, are among our guides Just think of the mighty change wrought in Ahmedabad in a single day through Gandhi's intercession by the resolves he made and the happy consequences then as ever possible only in spiritual India What he accomplished in the indigo districts in Behar and still more what is taking place at this moment in the agricultural district of Kaira in Guzerat show that he should for ever be known as the implacable foe of high-handedness and the immortal and intrepid defender of the weak and the oppressed Who can fail to see the mighty soul-force that is now at the service of the Motherland in him and in those whom he is educating in the practice of the virtue of what he himself felicitously calls "Satyagraha,' a virtue which the bureaucrat ought to take note of and ponder over I therefore make no extravagant request if I ask my young friends to be up and doing under such powerful guidance The part taken by these younger politicians at the meetings held within the past few days with reference to the matters connected with the newly started Civil Rights Committee affords ample proof of their readiness to their duty to the country And I trust I may be permitted to urge upon them the necessity for vigorous agitation against the policy of repression which that Committee is pledged to see abolished In my humble judgment even those

questions of political reform, which are now occupying the attention of the Secretary of State, yield in importance to the relief which the above mentioned Committee wishes to obtain For no man in his senses can consent to give credit to the *bona fides* of an Executive which allows itself to be blindly led by the Police and will deport or intern subjects of His Majesty denying them all opportunity of establishing their innocence before a judicial tribunal So long as such methods continue to be used and efforts for obtaining further repressive legislation are being made it is simply futile to believe in the existence in India of that legitimate civic freedom which is the foundation of all political freedom I hope that the agitation we have begun in the matter will not cease until the Imperial Parliament once for all declares that it shall be impossible for the Government in this country to resort in future to so barbarous a system of procedure utterly out of place under any civilised Government

In conclusion, I ought to say that our responsibility to our own country at this moment is most peculiar and special In a way our fate may be said to depend upon how we are going to receive the Secretary of State's announcements regarding the coming reforms If you show any disposition to accept anything short of popular control through elected members over the Government of India as satisfactory to us, that would, in my humble opinion,

be political suicide It will be treated as a practical abandonment of the Congress demands and will be the destruction of what has been laboriously accomplished up to the present moment. It is to be devoutly hoped that such a contingency will not happen, and I solemnly charge you to do all in your power to avert such a catastrophe I ask you never to be tempted with less than what the nation has already demanded so unmistakably through its accredited representatives firm in the belief that our demands will be complied with as a matter indispensable to the safety of the Empire itself, whose present distraction can only be relieved by the supply of India's man-power which is left unavailed of through a strange blindness on the part of those guiding English affairs Furthermore the reception which our delegates will receive in Great Britain will depend upon the support we give to them during their stay there If they insist upon the principles of the Congress Scheme as being the only ones to be demanded in no uncertain voice and we here change and be guilty of vacillation, the result must inevitably be the failure of their mission We must guard against such an unhappy result and this can never too strongly be borne in mind and pressed upon all who fail to see what is the right cause

Without detaining you further I shall now call upon Mrs Besant to read the joint address of the political bodies now participating at this meeting

THE ADDRESS

Honoured and Esteemed Sir,—We, the Members of the Mahajana Sabha, the Madras Provincial Congress Committee, the Home Rule League, the Madras Presidency Association and the Andhra Peoples Association, beg to offer you a most hearty and sincere welcome, on your arrival at our city We have had the privilege of knowing and benefiting by the noble and selfless work, which you have been doing strenuously and unceasingly, through good report and through evil report for more than a generation now, on behalf of our Motherland We have learnt to associate with your honoured name all that is best and finest in our country—unbounded patriotism, profound learning, unceasing and vigilant endeavour clear and unfaltering vision, unshakable faith in the future of our country, and above all, a willing and cheerful readiness to suffer for India, such as is perhaps hardly paralleled in our modern history All the suffering which you have undergone has only made you more willing, if that were possible, to spend yourself in the service of India Permit us to assure you, Sir, on behalf of the people of this Presidency, of our unbounded confidence in you and profound gratitude for all that you have done for us We have no doubt that your name will be handed down to posterity as one of the makers of Modern India We have watched with genuine pleasure your recent triumphal march through the

Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces and may we tender our heartfelt thanks to you for your having brought the mercantile and working classes into this great National Movement We realise the difficulties under which you are now proceeding on your important mission to Great Britain We know that India's cause cannot be pleaded by anyone better than by you, and that you will be able to get a hearing for India, such as few others can We are glad to learn that you will be at the head of the deputation, for Britain cannot make any mistake about our demands, *viz* that we want the Congress-League Scheme of reforms as the first instalment and that we will be satisfied with nothing less We shall watch and follow the work of your deputation in England and our prayers and good wishes are with you We doubt not that the cause of India will be safe in your hands and that you will make Britain realise that the safety and the permanence of the Empire depend upon the early establishment in India of Responsible Government We wish you Sir, and the deputation, a safe and happy voyage, a vigorous and successful campaign in England and an early and safe return to India

I thank you cordially for the honour you have done me and the other members of the Deputation in welcoming us here and in presenting an address which has been signed by almost all the representative bodies in this city (A friend here suggests "all" representative bodies) My knowledge of the place is so scanty that I saved myself by introducing the qualification "almost all" but I am prepared to accept the amendment moved by my friend, and I thank you all the more because all the representative bodies of this Presidency have given us their blessing and good wishes for the cause which is the cause of us all, the success of which we have all at heart As observed by the venerable Chairman, there is one thing which I wish to communicate to you at this moment No one now requires to be told what Home Rule means I can safely drop that question The only question is how Home Rule is to be fought out The Government of India and the Secretary of State have both declared from their respective places, the one in Parliament and the other through the *Gazette of India*, that Responsible Government or Home Rule shall be the goal of

British administration in India The King, the Cabinet, the Governor-General and the Secretary of State are all agreed that it is proper and legal for you to ask for Responsible Government, and secondly, that it ought to be the goal of the British administration in India, but the statement is not as complete as we want it to be We are told that this Responsible Government will be granted to you by steps which will be decided by the Bureaucracy and not by us That is not the doctrine of self-determination of which they talk so much in Great Britain The steps are to be determined by us and not by the present bureaucratic administrators Self-determination means that one must fix upon these steps, that we must fix upon the time limit and that the matter should not be left to the sweet discretion of bureaucracy which after 150 years of rule have now just come to see what the goal of their administration should be They worked in utter darkness till now groping in the way, and when the War broke out, and when it was found that the Empire was in a danger, as they began to see what the goal of their administration ought to be We do not want to quarrel with them for that The goal is there and it is no longer seditious to say that we want Home Rule and that Home Rule is our birthright We are going to England to tell the British Democracy plainly that the question as to what the first step should be and what the time of granting full

Responsible Government should be is no longer a question on which bureaucratic opinion can be tolerated for a moment We do not want the British Democracy to decide how they should act as an umpire between the Bureaucracy and ourselves We are going to England for the purpose of convincing the British Democracy that the grant of Responsible Government is the necessity of the hour It is no longer a question of benevolent generosity or favour That was the position ten years ago Now the position is entirely changed Responsible Government has now become the necessity of the hour, the necessity of the Empire and, I say, the safety of the Empire We are going to England for the purpose of convincing the British Democracy that if Home Rule is not granted to India, the Empire is in danger of being one day crippled You all know what the situation is in Asia India stands alone Russian influence in Asia is dominated by German influence Turkey is under the influence of Germany Japan has the goal of self-aggrandisement India cannot hereafter be defended by the naval and military forces of Great Britain, naval forces for reasons you all know, military forces, simply because there are none If India is to be defended in the interests of the Empire, India must be trained to defend herself Look at the world map—India surrounded by China and Japan on one side, with Siberia on one side, with two Asiatic Turkeys under German influence, with Russia

broken up into rival parties Supposing you have to defend India against a combination inspired from Germany, what will you do? (A cry "we will fight") I will tell you what my answer is They say that they will not trust India They will trust Japan and any other people on the surface of the earth but India The work of the Deputation is to convince the British Democracy that the gravity of the situation—as the Chairman remarked, the centre of gravity—lies in India and not in England It is here that the solution is to be found and not in America or Japan The map of the world is changed and if we do not take advantage of these circumstances which are providential, we do not deserve to be called citizens, we do not deserve to be called men Times do not change for you Time and tide wait for no man and you have to run with them If you fail to take advantage of the time and circumstances, you fail in the important duties of citizenship Providence is favourable to you Why? Because the whole world is changed and it is impossible that there could not be a change When the world is changed, if you propose to remain stationary, possibly you will be wiped off speedily You must move along with the times What is necessary at present is to make the British people realise the position We are not going to appeal to their generosity and nothing could be gained by that procedure We must make them realise that unless they are prepared to raise India, they must

be prepared to lose India If India remains stationary, she will be a dead-weight round the neck of the Empire and there is a danger of both India and the Empire going to the bottom That is the situation which I wish to point out to the British public It is not a situation of our making Providence has brought it about and, as Mr Pal has said, Providence has been working for us all over the whole world Providence is working in your own interest If you have not the ears to hear or the hands to work in consonance with the spirit that is running abroad, I dare say every independent and civilised nation in the world will pass their judgment upon you and that judgment will be against you Are you prepared to face it? (Cries of No) After all I am but one individual Whatever I may hold or whatever I may think will count as the judgment of one man I appeal to you to think of the situation I am going to say in England that Home Rule for India is a question of necessity of the hour and that it must be realised That is the decisive attitude which must be taken, which must be utilised, which must be exploited to its utmost We want your full support in that work We are going to represent the cause of Home Rule through the British Democracy as a matter of necessity We have fixed our demand You know what happened in the case of Ireland The British ministers and Cabinet asked the Irish people to meet in a Convention and to settle their demands We are a bit, shrewd people

We thought that such a demand would be made We anticipated it and met in the Congress and Muslim League and we have fixed upon the minimum which ought to be conceded to us at once All that remains is if the British Ministry wishes to treat us on the same footing as they treated the Irish, what we say is, here is our demand, settled at a Convention of the Congress and the Muslim League and no more Convention is necessary, therefore extend to us the same liberty that you have given to Ireland and carry it through the Parliament No second reference is necessary We have our demand ready made What is that demand? We ask for complete Home Rule within a measurable time Both of us have agreed happily on that, though the words "within a measurable time" are susceptible of being interpreted in different ways according to the interests of each party We have fixed upon the first stage or the first step towards Home Rule and that step is that we want financial control Let me enumerate the principles involved in that We must have the control of the purse We must have control over the executive The executive must be prepared to carry out what the legislature resolves The executive must be the servants of the Legislature Our second demand is that there should be substantial majority of elected members in the Legislative Council There are minor demands with regard to administration in the Provinces and so on An attempt will be made—I say it from the know-

ledge of Bureaucracy—to tempt you to give up a part of your demands There is no other alternative for the Bureaucracy They have to accept the goal which has been published all over through the *Gazette of India* We know where we are Between Minto-Morley Reforms and complete Responsible Government the Bureaucracy wants small instalments to be fixed at their discretion That would not do We say that we are even prepared to accept reforms in instalments but we say that the first instalment should be substantial and should be what we have asked for in the Congress-League Scheme, and that after the payment of the first instalment, the instalments that are to follow should be distributed over as small a number of years as possible We ask for the control of the purse, control over the executive and a substantial majority in the Legislative Councils Without these reforms no improvement in the State of the country will be brought about We do not want Home Rule so that we may get a few more Government posts, nor is it that we should associate with the Bureaucracy in their costly administrations We say that the Empire is in danger and that we are willing to save the Empire We want Home rule in order that we may be better qualified to render that assistance to the Empire within ten or fifteen years to come We are anxious to serve the Empire, we are anxious to be a living member, a self-dependent member of the Empire like the other parts of the Empire Let us

have sufficient power that would enable us to achieve this goal within as short a time as possible Japan became a nation within a comparatively short period We hope that if we are granted the power and the right that we ask for, the first instalment that we ask for will convert India from a dead-weight into a self-dependent unit of the Empire. Our object is imperial and with that object in view, we press that the Congress demand is the minimum demand that we make Mind that we are not extravagant The caution that was necessary to be used and perhaps more than necessary to be used has been set aside and this demand has been fixed with the consent of Hindus and Muhammadans of all shades of political opinion That is a compromise that we have arrived at If after bidding farewell to us, after allowing us to work in England for some time, you change your mind, imagine what the consequences would be It will be a great error, also a disaster to send us to England and then change your mind behind our back You had better not send us to England at all if you are likely to change your mind I wish to take the verdict from you before we are going to England If you will be content with less when temptations are put before you and when Bureaucracy says that you will ruin your path unless you accept less —they will try to throw the responsibility of the failure on you—it is a very spacious argument, an argument that is likely to appeal to people who have

something else in view, be firm at that time. If you really want us to go to England and plead the cause of the country, we expect full and unstinted support from you all (Cheers) If you have no mind to stick to the programme you have made, please let us know about it and we shall know how to act Otherwise we are going to take the Congress Scheme as the basis of our demand The Congress Scheme exclude the military and foreign affairs but in the case of military matters the Congress Scheme demands that the Government of India should make a declaration as regards its future policy We do not ask for control over military affairs because the bureaucracy would suspect that we have some ulterior motive We still want a definite declaration as to future military policy We want volunteering to be allowed and military colleges to be opened In the military matter, it is impossible to utilise the man-power of India without the full consent of the people of India and their full consent to support the Empire Who can expect any people on the surface of the earth to fight for a country unless the fighter hopes that he will improve his material position in this world ? The *Bhagavad Gita* has beautifully expressed that if you die on a battle-field there are gates of heaven open to you The bureaucracy has refused encouragement to volunteering There are thousands in this meeting who would declare their willingness to volunteer, who are prepared to defend their country as the Colonies have done I see

a number of young people before me who would come forward with the greatest satisfaction if the Government of India declares their military policy to morrow I do not know from what portion of the Empire they can find man-power as much as from India You will be told that the Government of India is very liberal and that if we accept Responsible Government as the goal of British administration in India everything else will follow I say No I say that the first instalment ought to be such as would make us qualify within 10 or 15 years to take part in the defence of our Empire The Anglo-Indian Association and Lord Sydenham are saying that India is unfit for Home Rule, that Indian women are not yet liberated, that the caste system is widely prevalent, that Indians have not changed their colour and that therefore Home Rule should not be granted I do not think that there is any chance of this argument being heard by the democracy We must be there on the spot We must be able to say what are the essential conditions necessary to grant Home Rule to India Have we prevented Government from introducing free and compulsory education among the mass ? If the masses are uneducated it is not our fault There are said to be difficulties in the way of finding funds for educational purposes but funds are easily found for other purposes such as the grant of Exchange Compensation to Civilians and others We want authority to

abolish the bureaucratic policy of administration and we want the whole policy to be changed and the character of the administration to be converted from bureaucratic to responsible power Let us have your full support, your full sympathy and let us have a continued agitation even more than desirable, for in such a matter excess is not to be condemned Even more than now keep on your agitation Let us hear the echoes of your agitation in England Nothing can be more cheering to us than those echoes I promise you on behalf of the deputation that we shall do our best to carry out the object upon which we go there not for ourselves but for the country We are going there in obedience to a call from Providence, from a higher power—an inspiration which we cannot resist We go in spite of bad health and other circumstances It is a mission from God, a mission from above, and if we are determined to follow it up with all your power and sympathy, there will be enough energy given to us to carry it out We feel that times are changed, we feel that it is the will of God to grant Home Rule to India We possess confidence, that Providence which inspired us in the past, will give us the necessary strength to carry that impulse safely through I again thank you for the honour you have done to us (Loud Cheers)

BABU BEPIN CHANDRA PAL

Babu Bepin Chandra Pal who was received with long and prolonged cheers, said —

Sir Subramaniam, Mrs Besant, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The first time that I came to Madras and appeared at a political platform was in 1886 I remember Sir, that you were then a junior leader in the Congress movement and I was, though not exactly in age, but in appearance a school-boy I had the honour of being called as a school boy by my old friend then Mr Chandavarkar, now Sir Narayan Chandavarkar All these memories come up to me In 1887 we did not dream—not the boldest of the dreamers amongst us—that the day would come which has arrived at this moment 20 years later, I came to Madras, well, as a stormy petrel (Laughter) The Government did not like it Our own old friends were mightily afraid of my inflamatory speeches, but as I said last night at Adyar, as in Theology we know that the heresay of one generation becomes the orthodoxy of another generation (Cheers) so in politics, the sedition of 1907 becomes Imperial Loyalty, and the inflamation of 10 years ago in the providence of God becomes

inspiration 10 years hence I do not regret, sir, one single incident of those years with which I had anything to do Not even Sir Valentine Chirol (Cries of shame) could find sufficient imagination to say that I had anything to do with political violence by that little incident, or those little incidents for which we were none of us responsible, for which the reponsibility will be laid by history upon other shoulders—I will not name them (Laughter) and we stand absolved before God and Man of all responsibility for the unhappy things that have happened since then We sounded a note of warning We said "Do not drive a legitimate movement for political freedom, do not drive it, we ask you in God's name, under ground" Our Counsel was not heeded and we cannot be held responsible —none of those who took active and prominent part in those days—for any untoward, any unfortunate, any unlawful and criminal activity that may have been associated with that movement I regret nothing, I withdraw nothing (Loud Cheers) I stand to-day for the same principles for which we all stood then in 1907 (Cheers) (A cry "There must be constancy") But times have changed and he is a fool, he who has anything to do with politics and does not change his policy with the changing currents of events In 1907, we stood face to face with a tremendous conflict with the bureaucracy There was no self-consciousness of the people There was no self-confidence among the people.

The leaders had no confidence in their following and the following had no confidence in anything That was the state of things in 1907 and the first duty then was to create self-confidence in the people, to quicken a new self-consciousness in them, to arouse in them the vision of a glorious future for their country and to inspire them with a new hope for the realisation of that future Those who have read of self-assertion and self-consciousness know that through our contact and conflict with the bureaucracy, the not self political self-consciousness in India had to be awakened ten years ago through conflict with that political not self of India That was the beginning But sir, I believe in no conflict which does not aim at reconciliation I believe in no War which has not an end unto the establishment of a larger and more permanent place than the world has known before The conflict in which we engaged ourselves in 1907 has been fulfilled in the new reconciliation which has come within the view of Indian and British statesmanship to-day — (Cheers) My lawyer friends know it Will they file a plaint? Do they add to it a paragraph that they would take less than what is claimed in the plaint? Do they say let us have a compromise? They file the plaint put their claims to the highest point and then the other party files its statement and both parties come to recognise their mutual strength and weakness and when they do so then comes the time to think of reconciliation and com-

promise and not before that We press for the fullest possible measure of freedom for ourselves The Empire idea was not then a developed idea in British politics The British meant then the domination of a part of the Empire over the whole Empire It was an usurpation by a portion of the whole That is not a right sort of Empire Ten years ago I declared that I was an Imperialist and that the Empire must be a right sort of Empire That statement of mine was not emphasised The time had not come for that emphasis You cannot be an imperialist without becoming a pacca Nationalist (Cheers) If I had talked to you then of the Empire, it would be an airy fairy something to capture your imagination and find a little centre for your cowardice Time was not, but Providence, as our leader has just told you, has been working for us Great Britain and the rest of the British Empire have come to recognise that the dependence of India makes not for the freedom of the Empire but for its complete collapse They have come to recognise it, and recognising it they are prepared to come to some arrangement, some reconciliation The first note of that reconciliation was sounded by Lord Hardinge, the greatest statesman,—that ruled India for many many a year In the memorable despatch of 25th August 1909 Lord Hardinge speaks in connection with the transfer of the capital of the Indian Government from Calcutta to Delhi and he speaks of Toronto, Washington, Sydney as the seats

of Central Government, and Lord Hardinge knew that he was speaking to a people who knew a little of political geography, who knew English language better than many Englishmen, who knew a little bit of foreign history also and foreign constitutions Knowing all these things when Lord Hardinge said that the real reasons for the transfer of capital from Calcutta to Delhi and the justification of the policy was to be found in the fact that Washington was situated in a district by itself under the direct administration of a Parliament of a federal government, he knew that that was the first reconciliation to us, because that indicated that Lord Hardinge had accepted our ideal of the future United States of India Then came this great War It is an evil war as every war is But I do not believe in absolute evil There is no such thing as absolute evil for every evil there is a counter-poise of good And for every good there is counter-balancing of evil also This great War has not been an unmixed blessing not even to Europe because the end of this War will advance the cause of International Peace in Europe much more than it could have been advanced by any other way It will in any case help to relieve the delirium of power and purse that had overtaken Western culture and Western civilisation A little blood-letting does good to every fever patient Doctors have other ways of doing it now This War will do good to Europe Why? Because we

see principles of it in the new declaration of policy by the Right Hon Montagu He says after so many years of British Administration that Responsible Government, progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire, is the future British policy There was no talk of equal laws, there was no talk of generosity Here was a statement made for the first time by responsible British Ministers that Responsible Government is the goal of British policy in India I take it as an offer of reconciliation between the British Empire and our Indian nationalism I want to accept the progressive realisation of Responsible Government I need not tell you that the present Government is not a Government It is neither an irresponsible Government It is a Government which not being responsible to the people cannot be called a Responsible Government It is a Government which being responsible to another people is yet not an irresponsible Government In any case, this Government is not responsible to us The Policeman over there is responsible to the Head Constable, the Head Constable to the Sub-Inspector, the Sub-Inspector to the Inspector, the Inspector to the D S P, the D S P to the I G The I G to an executive member of the Council and the Executive Council Member to the Governor and they all to the Governor General in Council and again they all to the Secretary of State for India and from the Secretary of State responsibility

ascends and from Cabinet it passes through a Brahmarandra That is how it goes up It is a Yogic process but we want to reverse that process We want that responsibility to come down to us Just think for a moment what this responsibility would mean Not many weeks ago, two women were arrested on the strength of a telegram in Bengal, and they were imprisoned (Cries of shame) Lord Ronaldshay is extremely sorry for it (Laughter) There was some mistake somewhere and Lord Ronaldshay said as head of the Government that on account of that mistake, which was somewhere, there were arrests and imprisonments I ask you what would have happened if we had responsible Government in India You know what happened with Miss Cash who was an ordinary poor gentle young lady of London who while walking in the streets of London was arrested by a policeman and put upon a false charge of suspicion of solicitation What happened? The Home Secretary so far as I remember, was on the point of being sent about his business for that one outrage upon an innocent woman by that policeman The Government had to make amends the very next day Here our Government is satisfied with saying that women will not be arrested in future without a reference to the Central Government You and I will be, we are not women In our case, the ordinary lengthy procedure of law and justice is not needed But in the

case of poor women it is needed That is the sort of administration we have We cannot continue in this state of things for a single day. We want therefore without much delay Home Rule or Responsible Government We want it in our own interest Our first interest is that we do not want to commit suicide Individuals commit suicide upon occasions and they are goaded sometimes to commit suicide Nations also, driven to desperation, do sometimes commit suicide We desire to prevent the commission of this great crime by being with the British Empire I think you understand what I mean We want to be in the British Empire so that we may not be driven to desperation to commit political suicide The British Empire must be with us, not to avoid suicide but to avoid something else The British Empire cannot endure without the man-power and, I will add also, the brain power of India (Cheers) Our brain and muscle will be able to save the British Empire We are willing to save it We must be prepared to save it And the condition by which we shall be able to save it is the grant of Home Rule and nothing *short of* it The Government understands it They made up their minds that India shall get Home Rule It depends upon you and me whether this shall be fulfilled or not There are two considerations before the Government One is the consideration of general war politics to which our leader has already referred There is the new

situation, there is the new menace, as the *Times*, said, in Central Asia There is the political and geographical destiny of Japan pushing her towards her own destiny Between these two, untrained and unorganised, unequipped, yet we hold, shall I say it, the fate of the British Empire is in the hollow of our own hands? Ten years ago, I appealed for your own national life To-day I appeal for a higher thing, the larger Empire idea through which you have to realise your national life Your eternal motto has been for the good of the world and for God who is the Lord of the World, and for Shri Krishna, the Lord of the World, it is necessary that we should try our best to make what sacrifices that may be demanded of us to win Home Rule without undue delay Delay, if it was ever dangerous, is dangerous in this matter And England wants you England has been engaged in this war for over three years and you cannot wage a war like this without losing a little of your manhood Germany has lost according to the account of the English papers published from time to time three times her original population (Laughter) England has been exhausted It is useless denying the fact France is exhausted The only Power which is not exhausted is our friend and ally Japan Everybody else is exhausted England wants men Soldiers must come from a large community and that large community is India. We are prepared to fight England's battles, to win

England's battles, to fight for her salvation and to fight for the promotion of world's peace These are the great objects that we have in view, and for the realisation of these objects we want Home Rule without delay We go there, not as mendicants, not to beg gifts from the British people but as our leader has said, we go there not in our own name, not in the name of our Mother India, however dear that may be to us, but we go there in the name of the Empire We are convinced that if India gets Home Rule, British Empire will be saved and in the strength of India, will be the promise of a world peace and if India does not get Home Rule there will be chaos and God knows what else We go, not to beg, but to warn We cannot appeal to them to do the right But every man has a right in God's word to do the wrong and in the doing of the wrong to kill himself and kill others (Loud Cheers)

MRS BESANT

HOME RULE AND HOME DEFENCE

An overcrowded mass meeting of Indian residents of Calcutta was held on Wednesday, 17th April 1918 afternoon at Beadon Square, at which Mrs Annie Besant delivered an address on the present situation created by the recent message of the Prime Minister and the pronouncement of the British War Cabinet on Home Rule Deputation to England Mr Chakravarthi presided Mrs Besant said —

Now the political position at present is changing almost every day When I said I would speak in Calcutta I wanted to tell you something of the progress of the Home Rule movement in England on behalf of India But since then several other things have happened, changing the whole political position First we have had three messages from the Cabinet of Great Britain One of these messages informed us that the position was one of military difficulty, when a crisis in the war had been reached, and that every part of the Empire was called upon to give the greatest help it could give Then we had another message stopping Mr Tilak's deputation from leaving Colombo and saying that the Home Rule Deputation could not be allowed to go to England Then we have the Viceroy faithful to

his promise in the supreme council telegraphing to England and asking them to reconsider their position Then we had another telegram saying that they cannot be allowed to go, that was after the Viceroy had encouraged the idea (applause) after the Viceroy in the supreme council declared that he would welcome the idea of deputation to England and promised to facilitate them in every possible way He seems to have tried to keep his promise He seems to have endeavoured to persuade the English cabinet to behave like reasonable people but the Cabinet has definitely refused and the deputation is not to be allowed to start Now if the cabinet at the beginning had said that during the time of the war they would have no political agitation in England then we should have known where we were, but instead of that they have allowed Lord Sydenham and the merchants of the city of London who exploit the resources of India, they have allowed them to carry on a political propaganda against the grant of reforms to India We have Lord Sydenham forming an Indo-British Association and that association is carrying on a propaganda of slander and of falsehood We have had them to the Labour Party in conference assembled, a manifesto against Home Rule being granted That propaganda is allowed to go on week after week and month after month The War Cabinet did not find out that that was objectionable, they did not say that that was improper, but now they declare that it is improper that a deputa-

tion should go from India to oppose, to expose the slanders of Lord Sydenham and to put the cause of the Indian people before the British democracy Surely it is not just surely it is not fair that our enemies should be allowed a free course in Great Britain and that we should not be allowed to defend ourselves Surely if Lord Sydenham is allowed to slander India and to declare that she shall not have Home Rule then Mr Tilak ought to be allowed to go to oppose Lord Sydenham and to claim Home Rule for India (applause) It was saying that if they had been stopped it would be well but you know what is the case They are carrying on the work in England to govern the Indian trend of thought, to prevent the development of Indian resources for the benefit of India They want Indian resources developed for the benefit of the Empire, that is for the pockets of the British capitalists who will exploit the country for their own advantage (applause) Even here at the present time you find concession being made to British firm and refused to Indian You find then a monopoly of bamboo pulp for paper put through for long years for a British firm while a similar demand from an Indian firm is refused Surely then it is necessary for the days that are coming after the war for the days of commercial struggle, for the days of great struggle—it is necessary that some of you should go to England to explain your condition, point out your difficulties, win the sympathy of the democracy and so make

ready for the passage of reforms which shall make you masters in your own country (applause)

Now we have a request for help to be given The position politically for us is a very critical one Mr Montagu has made a scheme of reform, but they are not yet published They will not be published till they are not submitted to the Cabinet of England When they are submitted and published in England then we want our own men to be there to criticise them, to point out their deficiency and to show where they are inadequate Suppose that the reforms proposed by Mr Montagu are not satisfactory, suppose that they are practically illusory, as they were in the Morley-Minto reforms, suppose it does not give them that which India has demanded —what is then to be our position? Now there are certain points brought out by the Congress and Moslem League in its last sitting which are of vital importance We have demanded that the Congress-League scheme shall be the first instalment of the reforms It is quite inadequate It does not ask for nearly enough, but it is a step in the right direction We have asked that there shall be complete responsible Government in India at an early date, not floating about in the air, not to be left indefinite for we know that the means are putting off and putting off continually The demand is that self-government should be given at an early date and that the date is to be named in the Statute so that there shall be no quarrel afterwards about it

We have asked for the control of the purse, we have asked for the control over the Executive Now suppose when the reforms come out you find these things are not given, suppose that in the Statute, there is no date given at which complete responsible government will prevail in India, suppose they do not give you the power of the purse, suppose they do not give you control by the Legislature over the Executive,—I ask you to realise that unless these things are given to you that the reforms will be useless and will be another fraud upon the Indian nation (applause) Unless you have real power, unless you control your taxation unless you can control the executive,—without these changes you may as well have no reforms at all,—for you should remember that a small inadequate reform becomes an obstacle in the way of larger reform which is wanted The Minto-Morley reforms have been so inadequate In the Legislative Council of Madras one of the members in the presence of the Governor declared that the proceedings were a farce In your Supreme Legislative Council another member declared that the council was only a glorified debating society This is not political power that is not the reform that India demands, and if we are only offered the mere simulacrum of reform then I say that we ought not to accept it, that we ought not to say that we are satisfied even for a moment but that we should carry on an active, a more active than ever, agitation until we get this (applause)

Now friends there is a danger, there is a serious danger when partial reforms are given that a few people will be willing to take them for more than they are worth You will have people saying to you that it is better to take half a loaf than to have nothing at all, that if you refused an inadequate reform you may get nothing at all

There is in the message that came to-day from the war Cabinet something which is utterly undesirable In that message you are told that it may spoil the question of reform if your Home Rule propaganda is carried on That kind of threat to the Indian nation is by no means in good taste, it is by no means desirable ;If suddenly you are to be called upon to defend the Empire then they are bound to give India the freedom by which alone an army can be raised in the country (applause) You cannot arouse enthusiasm, you cannot possibly win any kind of patriotic feeling among the people unless they feel that they are fighting for their own country, for their own hearths and homes for their own wives and children, to defend India as well as the Empire against the German menace, against the possibility of German invasion If you want to arouse a popular enthusiasm, if you want to win thousands and thousands of the Indians in order that they might swell the ranks of the army then you can only do it by making an appeal to the love of country which lies awake in every Indian heart It is idle to endeavour to get people to fight as mere

mercenaries for reforms in which they have no interest Look at Ireland to-day Ireland has been asking for Home Rule Ireland is represented in the British Parliament She does not pay taxes levied by another country She has a voice in the making of the laws She has power to make herself heard Now what was it that Mr Lloyd George said and that others also said in Parliament when the question of conscription was raised? They said you cannot ask any man to fight for principles whose application is refused in their own country Why is it improper for India to ask for Home Rule if it is right for Ireland to ask for Home Rule? Ireland is a country of only four millions of people and she has many members some 60 members, I think, in the House of Commons Here is a country of 315 millions of people (applause) and not a single representative in the British Parliament (shame) Members here although elected by the people have no power over the taxes, no real voice in the budget no authority in the making of laws Surely if England can pass a Home Rule Bill for Ireland in the middle of the war, she can also pass a Home Rule Bill for India (applause), while the same war is going on Otherwise it is a mere hypocrisy to talk as they are doing and the pretence of fighting for liberty becomes a sham and not reality It cannot be pretended in Ireland that the question is an easy one Notwithstanding the position of things in Ireland you find that the War Cabinet is

prepared to reconsider the measure of Home Rule for Ireland, in order that they may be able to call upon the Irish men to help them in the war Then I say friends that if Ireland has a right for Home Rule in order that she may fight for England, India has a right for Home Rule if she is to be asked to fight for the Empire (applause) The same should be meted out, the same justice should be done to one country as to the other You will have to consider now a question which will very soon arise If India is to defend her against a possible invasion, then India must be armed in self-defence in order that she may preserve her own land from the enemy That is a point that I would ask you all to think over You cannot separate the question of Home Defence from the question of Home Rule If they want you to defend your country by force of arms then they must make you free men for only free men can be trusted to fight the battles of their country (applause) They tell us against the views of Sir Harcourt Butler, that there is a danger from Central Asia India has faced that danger from invasion very often in the past, many invaders have come to India, sometimes to secure the position of conquerors, and sometimes to be rolled back But never till now if the invader come will they see in front of them a disarmed and helpless India (applause) Since 1878 the Arms Act has prevented you from bearing arms You have been shut out from the army You have been forbidden to defend

yourselves either against wild beasts or against wild men and if England now wants your help, if England now desires your help first she should abolish the Arms Act, and then she should call out the young men and train them as a citizen army In the first place as the Commander-in-Chief said the other day —Let them learn first to guard their own soil and then some may be drilled enough to help to defend Imperial interests, but England is fighting for her own liberty for her own soil, for the defence of her own land against the German menace and you have the same rights to learn to defend your country and to keep your own soil free from the foot of the invader These are the main points that I desire to put to you A response to the War Cabinet may be necessary from the whole of India and not only from fragments of it Let us be determined that we should help as far as we can but we cannot succeed unless the nation is promised freedom Well do we know that in this country the longing for Home Rule is so great, the wish for Home Rule is so powerful that if England would say as she ought to say "Liberty shall be yours, you also shall be free' then on the soil of India there would rise up not hundreds not thousands, but millions of men ready to be trained for the defence of the liberty that they want Let us then make it our cry 'Home Rule and the Defence of the soil" Let us join them together so that none can tear them apart Let us tell the British Cabinet

"Do for us what you do for Ireland You gave them Home Rule and then you call upon them to fight your battles Give us Home Rule and you shall not call upon us to help in vain" (loud applause)

BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Before a crowded audience, Lok Tilak made a speech on the 21st April, 1918 at Gowri Vilas compound on "The Present Situation" Mrs Annie Besant presided Lokamanya Tilak who was received with deafening cheers said —

Chairman, Sir Subramanyam and Gentlemen — You have been already told that whatever conclusions may be formed to-day are likely to be upset by the events of to-morrow So with this qualification first communicated to you I wish to proceed with the subject It is an important limitation, for events come one after another so abruptly without notice that I cannot say that what I tell you to-day will be repeated by me to-morrow Yet there are certain things which we can see through the number of documents that have been furnished by Government recently When I spoke last here, about three weeks ago, I told you that I was going to tell the British Democracy that India must be granted Home Rule as a War-measure, apart from the question of fitness, apart from the question of

justice, apart from the question of grace, apart from the question of continent, Home Rule to India was necessary as a War-measure if the Empire was to be saved Some papers here took objection to that I am glad to say that what I have said has been borne out Home Rule has been granted to Ireland as a War-measure, a War-measure under the necessity of psychological principle, backed up by the pressure from America. Ireland must be granted Home Rule Why? Because, first, Irish youths must be made to feel that they were fighting for their country, for a principle which is not denied to them at home That is one reason given And it is a sound doctrine Another reason is that it is the desire of President Wilson Possibly it means that America is not going to take part in this War, unless, the Americans are sure, that this War is for establishing liberty and freedom all over the world (cheers) The interest of America is not in the protest of peoples, whether it be Germans or Anglo-Saxons The American Government are interested in the War and are prepared to help England and her friends, if ultimately the principles of liberty are to triumph and are to be established all the world over, irrespective of colour or continent That seems to be the reason why America has given its help but not certainly to defend Anglo-Saxon despotism. For these two reasons Ireland will be granted Home Rule immediately

As regards the situation here created by the War, I must say a few words It is very clearly acknowledged that the situation is critical On the Western side the situation is very critical and is getting more and more critical every day and every hour It is said that if Germans succeed in annihilating the British army during the next two or three months before America can come to their help, the situation will be hopeless England and her friends believe that that cannot be crushed during that time They will hold their own It is not a question of conquest but a question of holding their own till American reinforcements come in and go, together with the man-power of America and of Ireland, to succeed in stemming back German Militarism The situation in the East is this The whole of Asia is now open to German invasion The Pan-Islamic League, and turkey, the Asiatic Turkistan, Persia and all these countries have been brought under the German influence by the parcelling of the Russian Empire into three or four different compartments, all under Germany It is quite possible for Germany through some agency to approach the North-Western frontier in a week at best (A voice " God forbid') Certainly, but the situation is to be gauged whether God forbids it or not, and unless you are prepared to face it, I do not think, God will come to your help It must be thought of, taken into consideration and provided for That is the business

of the statesman When he has done that, you can rely upon Providence So there is double danger As regards the danger in the West, one provision made is the application of conscription of Ireland That cannot be done unless the Irish youths are made to feel that they are fighting for a principle which is not denied to them in their own land That has been admitted, and they hope to apply conscription to Ireland, even if the Allies are unwilling England has done all that it could to satisfy Ireland That is what the Prime Minister has said We have done what we could and now we are not afraid to apply the law of conscription In that way they hope to get millions of men, and America says it can give five to seven or ten millions of them in two years Ireland can give some if conscription is applied So is the War situation But we are not concerned with the whole of it at present

We are concerned with the Asiatic situation Now what is the Prime Minister's message ? The first document says that this tide of German militarism must be stemmed in the West, but being stemmed in the West, it may find a way into the East—those are not my words—and it will be necessary for Indians to guard their Motherland against any such expected or anticipated danger in future That is the appeal made to us by the Viceroy Are you prepared to defend your Motherland, and upon the terms the Viceroy asked you, that you ought to be prepared ? If not, you will be forced to

prepare without even the psychological consideration shown in the case of Ireland I want you to read the three documents carefully One document explains why the deputation is stopped, the second is the Premier's message and the third is the Viceroy's declaration about the Delhi Conference

GOVERNMENT'S PLAN

Taking all these together, we can read between them a certain plan which seems to be settled and which is being carried out bit by bit Government have not given out, yet fully, what they propose to do and I do not blame the Government for it, but it is always that they carry on these plans by stages They have done so But any man can read for himself If he reads between the lines he can very easily see, that stopping the deputation, is the first scene, in the drama which is being enacted It was not an isolated act When the passports were granted to us the policy was under consideration, it was not settled Correspondence was then going on between the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the War Cabinet By the time we were ready, the question was ready with the solution, what the Viceroy should do, what the Home Government should do and now the first thing to be done was to stop the passage of the Deputation The second stage was the Conference, whatever that may mean I do not know what the Conference is to be held for, what conclusions are to be arrived at, or what its

procedure is, to arrive at the conclusions But it was said that one object of the Conference was to consider how to stop the propaganda work in India hereafter, the cessation of all political propaganda The second is how to utilise the man-power and other resources of India to the best advantage, and the third is to ask the people cheerfully to bear the sacrifices which may be necessary for victory These are the three objects which have been telegraphed to the newspapers and to the different members invited

DEFECTS OF THE CONFERENCE

Now what is the nature of this Conference ? All the big Chiefs are invited , I do not know why, because when the question of Native States came for consideration, there was a Chiefs' Conference, and it was there said that the Ruling Princes should not interfere in matters pertaining to the British Administration and we should not interfere with theirs It is a settled principle that we at present have nothing to do with their administration, we leave them alone Now in settling the momentous question some of the Chiefs are invited But why are they invited ? You can deal with them separately The demands and aspirations of the Princes are entirely different from the demands and aspirations of the British Indian people If you do not want Home Rule, many Princes will subscribe Whatever assistance you require from them, obtain

it by all means, but do not mix them together, so that the popular element will be invisible in the majority of the Conference That is one defect in the constitution of the Conference The second defect is that they have invited all non-official members of the Imperial Council The third defect is that they have invited such members as would be selected by the Local Government as representing various interests, (laughter) and then every interest will have one vote, if votes were taken,and there are so many different interests in India that if every interest is given a vote, then there is sure to be a majority of them all, agreeing to the one thing that whatever Government said was good They will have thus a majority of vote Being nominated by Government, it will be their duty to accept whatever Government proposed, and are we to be bound by it? (Several voices "no, no" and "certainly not") This is the great defect in that Conference I do not think that the leaders of the Congress are invited The President of the Congress has yet to be invited (Cries of Shame) Mind, she is the President of the Congress throughout the whole year 1918 So this packed up Conference which is to sit at Delhi is to decide the fate of India and pass final judgment upon the aspirations of the people It is not even like the Irish Convention It is something—I do not know what to call it—but, some humbug, to get the Government scheme passed at that Conference

WHAT IS THE GOVERNMENT SCHEME?

Now what is the Government scheme? We know that a scheme has been submitted to the Government by various representative bodies—the congress and League Scheme placed before the Secretary of State The majority of the people all over supported the scheme Is Mr Montagu going to grant us Self-Government according to that scheme? If so, there is no necessity of stopping any propaganda work If you grant us Home Rule, we are quite ready and prepared to support and defend our motherland to the last (Cheers) Not that we are unwilling to support, but now we are told nothing about the scheme, but there are some indications in the communique on the question of stopping the deputation What are they? The Government attitude is said to be generous We have forgotten it Then it is said that Mr Montagu has been here and he has heard all our representations,—as if Mr Montagu is the whole British Nation (laughter), and there is no necessity to carry on the deputation because everything has been heard by the Indian Government Now that is the argument from which we can see that they are not going to grant us the whole thing In that communique it was stated that the deputation was going to press their "own Home Rule scheme' What was that? It was nothing more than the Congress-League scheme If you put these two statements together the conclusion is that we are going to England to place

before the English democracy the Congress-League scheme which Government call our scheme, and that Government are not prepared to go so far So they have decided something That something will fall far short of our expectations It will not amount to even As 4 There are some who are prepared to say that it will come to As 8 But I do not think it will come even to As 4 The bureaucracy have decided what they would recommend the Home Government to grant to you Their scheme is ready I do not know whether the scheme will be placed before the Conference Possibly not They may possibly ask the Conference to give their consent for the cessation of political activity and propaganda on the faith that the Government are going to do something in the future

SOME VIEWS

There are some people who still think that whatever government is prepared to grant they should accept and rely upon the promises about the future That is, they say, prudent, statesmanlike and, considering our position, that is what we ought to You may argue with them as much as possible, but once you find that they are prepared to give you so much and no more, you ought to fall in with their view and tell people that you have done your best to convince the rulers, that you have not succeeded in doing so, and that whatever falls from them should be accepted, with thanks, if necessary.

Another attitude is that the times are such that even if you refuse what is being granted to you, Government will be forced in the circumstances to increase what they proposed to grant to you and that eventually you will succeed if you remain firm Those are the two schools of thought and I am afraid that the attitude taken up by Government may cause a split in the Nation —I say God forbid it I say that matters have come to this pass, *viz*, that some of your leaders who were with us in the Home Rule agitation may be taken away from us, and, relying on their support or pretending that they represent the people, the Government may force their conclusions It is for you now to decide what course you will adopt

COMPARE INDIA AND IRELAND

Look at the state of Government They think that although it is true in the case of Ireland that the man there must be made to feel that he is fighting for liberty, which is not denied to him in his own home, that principle of liberty is not applicable to India Are we not human beings like Irishmen? It is not a condition imposed by an Indian Some people say "Who are you to impose a condition upon Government, and it looks absurd for loyal subjects to impose conditions upon Government" My idea of loyalty is different We do not impose any condition upon Government, but we bring to the notice

of Government the psychological law that you cannot compel a man to do a thing unless you please him at the same time Before people determine to fight for the liberty of other Nations, they must be assured that they will enjoy that liberty in their own home (cheers) It is not a condition made by us If any one has made that condition it is human nature, and we are bringing to the notice of Government the law of human nature which will make co-operation effective I do not think that it is ever considered by any historian or any thinker that to remind the Government of the laws of human nature is disloyal In my telegram, which I sent from Ceylon to the Viceroy I set out this principle, *viz*, that we are prepared to co-operate with Government, that we are prepared to defend our Motherland against any possible danger from the north-west, whether real or imaginary, but at the same time we cannot enthusiastically defend it or zealously defend it, unless in our heart of hearts we are convinced that we are fighting for our own country and not as outsiders in our own country That is absolutely necessary and that condition must be granted The bureaucracy do not do so

A DISTINCTION

Here I must make a distinction between bureaucracy and ourselves The bureaucracy have a scheme of their own and they will carry it out whether you like it or not They have

settled it during the last two or three weeks, and that is to grant what they think fit, not to consider the principle of self-determination but to treat it as a principle of self-determination *by* the bureaucracy *for* you, because you are yet children It has been decided to grant you that, to shut up your mouth, to prevent all agitation in the country, and after some months to publish Mr Montagu s scheme, and then to recommend it to the Home Government, as a cut and dry scheme, and not to allow you even to place your views before the Parliament They think that it is a matter which completely rests with the Government of India and the leaders whom they have called to meet at the Delhi Conference What they decide there, will be fathered upon you They forget that the principle of self-determination must be applied to India You must be made to feel that you fight for your own country If you have no such feeling, then you will be mercenaries But ten mercenary men are not equal to one patriot The Government know it, and they have recognised it in the case of Ireland and they do not want to do it in the case of India (loud cries of Shame) The second fact, which must be brought to your notice and which has been already brought in, in the case of Ireland, is the American factor in the situation In the latest telegram published yesterday, Mr Lloyd George has plainly admitted that the Grant of Home Rule to Ireland was in consonance with the wishes of President Wilson,

and he said that unless Home Rule was granted to Ireland, American help would not come forth in such large numbers as it is desirable it should come The Parliament acknowledges through its Premier that they are forced to take this step in consonance with the wishes of the Americans, whose help is so much necessary at present Look at India You probably know in Madras that the matter was represented to President Wilson by one of our leaders (cheers), and what is the response that we got for it? The response is that we were 'traitors' to go to America for help, even to inform America what was the real situation in India They are not prepared to discuss it on merits but any reference to America in the case of India is looked upon as treason by the highest administrative authority in the land, while Parliament openly acknowledges that it is only in deference to the wishes of President Wilson that Home Rule is being granted to Ireland That is a noteworthy distinction We cannot go to America We cannot rely upon the principles of liberty which all the Allies equally proclaim that it is their intention to establish all over the world But those principles are not to be established in India The War is not for the establishment of those principles in India The German Colonies are Black Colonies after all They say that even in the case of the German Colonies the Allies have agreed that the principle of self-determination will be made applicable What

will Germany say? Germany will say "If you apply that principle to my Colonies, why not apply it to your own?" Peace negotiations are not to be carried on only by the Allies they will be on both sides They now publish to the world that the principle of self-determination is to be applied to the German Colonies If the Allies do not raise it, somebody else will raise it What reply will Great Britain give to it? In spite of this War, there can be no reply to the question at the Peace Conference why this principle of self-determination is not extended to India, except the reply that India must be kept aside for the bureaucracy

THE BUREAUCRATIC SOLUTION

That is the bureaucratic solution of the question The whole thing has come to this point at present They are going to hold a Conference which will be followed by the publication of Mr Montagu's scheme, all political activity will be stopped and possibly a few reforms here and there will be placed before the War Cabinet or the other Cabinet It seems to me from a reading of these documents that it is intended to settle the question in an arbitrary fashion as soon as possible, under the pretext that the North-west frontier is in danger and that this is not the time to discuss political reforms There is ample time to discuss the question of Home Rule being granted to Ireland, though the danger is nearer home there Here, though we are far away from the theatre

of War, danger is apprehended, and all political discussion is to be stopped with a view that the best possible use should be made of the manpower and other resources and that people should be prepared cheerfully to sacrifice Cheerfulness comes from the heart and if that heart remains untouched, how could that cheerfulness proceed ? We might be compelled to work like oxen on the battlefield but that will be an army of mercenaries India cannot fight a battle for her Motherland unless the sons of India are made to feel that it is for their Motherland that they are fighting and that in that Motherland they possess the birthright of managing their own affairs This must be said in the Conference We must muster all our forces together and try to influence as many members of this Conference as possibly could be influenced, so that a protest may be entered in the Conference itself before the Viceroy, that the plan of Government is an absurd plan, a plan that violates the laws of nature, and they must be reminded also that nature is always merciless in enforcing its laws at whatever cost (cheers) If this political agitation is to be stopped, how is it to be stopped ? Is it by another legislation, another Press Act, another Seditious Meetings Act, another Ordinance under the Defence of India Act ? That seems to be the object They do not say anything about Home Rule , they forget the fact altogether They want quiet and peace in India in order that the Government of India may concentrate their thought

on a successful prosecution of the War, as if the Government of India are the only people interested in the successful prosecution of the War! If thirty crores of people here are made to feel that it is to their interest to defend the Empire, I think that we can defend it without Government aid. It is not merely the interest of Government. The whole thing seems to be that they want help from you, that they want you to cheerfully help them and at the same time they refuse you your birthright. That is the situation at present. It is being enacted in scenes one after another. Two or three scenes have already been enacted, and we can form an estimate—it may be a mistaken one for the present but not much mistaken—as to what the plot of that drama will be, judging of the scenes we have already witnessed. The Bureaucracy seems to be prepared for smother public discussion in this land and to represent to the people that you are not fit to get more than they are prepared to give you. Their plan has been arranged and settled in consultation with the Home Government. You will not be allowed to go to England to represent your case. In India you will not be allowed to voice your dissent from the proposals of Government. The whole thing will go before Parliament in the form in which Government have prepared it, and that is all that you are to expect as a result of the War. To my mind, it is the duty of every Indian to fight to the end, and

see that India after the War gets the same rights of self-determination as are granted to Ireland This is the time to work Providence is with you and is only waiting to see how much courage, persistence and determination you show at this time Everything will depend upon that Do not think that it is a powerful Government and that we must suffer It is a powerful Government no doubt, but it does not follow therefrom that we should submit We must stick to our guns to the last The only reply to-day is that Government will not give what they are not prepared to give, and that we should not be prepared to take whatever they are prepared to give I do not care what the Government are prepared to give If they are going to give us four or eight annas we shall not take it Even a beggar refuses to take a pie All of you are better than beggars If you insist that more *must* be given, more *will* be given The circumstances are such that they will force the Government to make you feel that it is your case that the Government is fighting Another argument is that Government may force you to co-operate If Government passes a conscription law, let them do so, we shall know what to do If you yield, you give up your case Another argument is that you must also consider the difficulties of Government They said that Government is in a very difficult situation and that if you refuse your co-operation you will be playing false to Government I am not using the word sedition That argument

has no weight. If Government did not care for our feelings for 150 years and at the last moment, at a critical time, comes and appeals to you for help, that Government ought to be prepared to keep aside its own prejudices and concede to us something at this stage We are not all born for Government that we should so much care for it. The Government is for us and not we for Government The whole position is absurd Why should we care for a Government that would not apply the same principle to us that it applies to Ireland ? We have that argument, but possibly some of the members of the Conference will excuse themselves on the ground that they are powerless and helpless. True, we are helpless, but there are weapons even in the hands of helpless people (Cheers) I mean the weapon of Passive Resistance which will make Government come down on its knees (cheers) It must not be thought that we are so helpless because we have no weapon We must persist and make Government understand that it is impossible to obtain the zealous support of the people unless something is conceded to them That is the position at present Government thinks that it can carry out its plan by choosing leaders of the people and nominating them to sit in Conference That is the principle of self-determination to be applied to us ! They will pack up a few leaders and this packed Conference may come to the conclusion that all political propaganda should be stopped

The British Empire is likely to be threatened in Asia as it has already been threatened in the West For the West, a provision has been made For the East, a provision has to be made and that provision is of the nature I have told you. When we appealed to President Wilson from here that letter contained a distinct assurance that India could give 5 to 10 millions of men if the concession is conceded Take it as a case of the defence of the Empire itself We can defend the Empire against any attacks in the West and against any attacks in the East. India alone is powerful enough and capable enough to do it It seems to me that even after this great fight during the War for liberty as it is called! colour distinction still lingers in the minds of our Government not willing to grant to India what they are prepared to grant to Servia and to African Colonies because they are German They are not prepared to extend that principle to India. We have been demanding it I dare say we do not want to withhold co-operation We will co-operate but our co-operation cannot be hearty You may be taken up under the Conscription Act and asked to serve in the Army or go to gaol You will have to do either of the two When that Act is passed we shall have to see what we should do In that way, the thing may be forced and if that does not succeed then must come the grant of Home Rule The Government of India is trying to see whether the demand for Home Rule can be refused and yet a

successful prosecution of the War is carried on. We are interested in the successful prosecution of the War We are prepared to-day to fight for our Motherland, but it must be our Motherland and not the land of exploitation for other people Our feeling must be that it is our Motherland that we are asked to fight for How can you get that feeling? I do not think that the Government of India is so impervious that it cannot understand it They are far more intelligent than ourselves that is the reason they are governing us To attribute to Government a motive or an intention that they are ignorant of all these things is not correct Bureaucracy generally does not wish to part with power and if I were a bureaucrat I would have acted similarly The bureaucracy will try to minimise the concession of any political right to you It is for you to insist that the minimum of the Congress-League Scheme must be granted We desire to be treated like the men in Ireland and the German Colonies We desire to be treated as men possessing some sentiments two of which will be enthusiasm and cheerfulness, and if those sentiments, are to be evoked, it must be in a psychological way It is not a condition It is not disloyal It is the only right method—right was the word used by Mr Lloyd George It is right that people who fight should feel that they are fighting for their right in their own land and not to tie a rope to their own neck The present political situation is fast changing and after the Conference it

will change a bit and if it comes in the way I expect it to do, and if there is a strong protest against the procedure, that procedure is likely to lead to a change in the plan which seems to be already settled But everything now will depend on your taking the proper step Do not make any false step This is a serious time Our leaders may be led astray, or it may be shown that they are not proper leaders, which is a paraphrase of the same thing There are men of different temperaments all over the world There are men who think that they should make easy terms with the rulers There are others who think that the people are entitled to have something from their rulers, this is exactly the time when the question should be discussed If the Government of India is going to stop all political propaganda, all questions of national freedom and international freedom will be decided without your knowledge, and then the Government of India will take the gag out of your mouth and ask you to say what you have to say! This is just the time in the country when political agitation and education should go forward A serious difference of view between you and the Government will arise, and I am afraid it will arise in spite of any protest that may be entered at the Viceroy's Conference, and you will have to keep yourselves ready for that eventuality Whether you will accept the quarter loaf that will be given to you or insist upon getting the whole loaf is the point. It

has been emphasised in several places and also in the newspapers, but the necessity of taking a firm attitude has not yet been insisted upon with that force with which it ought to have been insisted upon Some of our leaders are still wavering as to what attitude they should take I have every respect for them. If they cannot rise to the occasion, let them not, but let them not cut off the legs of others If they cannot rise, it is no fault of theirs—they by nature are made short Perhaps my hand may reach higher and if it does not reach so high I will use some one else's hands, but I mean that my hand should reach higher This is exactly the time when they should not deter others from going forward. That is the lesson which requires to be impressed upon our leaders There cannot be unanimity on anything in this world I am prepared to tolerate difference of opinion, but at the same time the will of the majority must be carried If the majority of the people feel that they must have Home Rule, Home Rule must be granted in spite of the dissentient voices raised by some people Let us go to Government, let us place the matter before Parliament That will have to be done in the near future and everyone must be prepared to understand it and be prepared for the eventuality. My argument is. if I be firm I am sure to get what I want Let me be firm Let me not budge an inch, and the circumstances are such that our zealous co-operation, our cheerful co-operation will be necessary Cheerful-

ness and zeal will only come when the rights of Home Rule are granted Even this mighty Government will have to do it (cheers) It was compelled to do so in the case of Ireland Follow that example Perhaps you may have the help of America, but then even without that help you must remember that Justice and Providence are on your side What can Providence do? The favour of Providence enables a cripple to cross a mountain We shall be assisted in that way only if we have patience, but the struggle is coming It is begun by Government after hearing all that we had to say, and it now remains to be seen who succeeds in that struggle the Government or you We all wish that the people should succeed We all wish that Justice should be done to us We all wish that we should be enabled to help the Empire and to defend the Empire against all attacks whether in the East or in the West Our man-power is very great, that is the only wealth which we now possess, and if you think that it should be wasted, probably you will be left without any resources It is the only strength we have Insist that that strength can be made useful in the interest of the Empire only if a psychological condition is fulfilled and not otherwise That fact must be forced on the attention of Government, and then alone we shall succeed What will follow hereafter I cannot say If the Conference decides in our favour, well and good If it does not, we will have to organise our

forces Possibly the parties will be different then —there will be a Government party and there will be a popular party—the old names will have to be changed—and then in the end, I think, the War circumstances will be such that even if peace be concluded our demands will be granted to us (Loud Cheers)

MRS ANNIE BESANT

In thanking Lok. Tilak for his address Mrs. Besant said —

You have heard the situation described by Lok. Tilak. May I add to what he has said that the situation in Asia will not vanish with the conclusion of the War Asia has changed immensely by the breaking up of Russia, and the situation that the Government speaks of to-day is a situation that will continue for many a year to come Germany if beaten back in the West, will have all the more reason to desire to prosecute her ambition in the East Before now there have been descents upon India from Central Asia but never on such an India as we have to-day It is vital for the safety of India that we should have a territorial army large enough to defend the Motherland for many a year to come against aggression from the north In the old days when invaders came, they came among a people who were accustomed to the carrying of arms and accustomed to defend themselves Now they invade a people who, since 1887 had been a disarmed and helpless people, so that that their way is open, where in the old days it was closed That is a situation you have

to face, and in addition to that, the facilities which modern science has given for invading a country are that a railway system has been made from one end of the country to the other and that natural difficulties and obstacles have been removed, while the artificial condition of disarmament has been inflicted of India There is another part of the position that you have gravely to consider I know, as Lok Tilak said, that some people say that this is not a moment for dealing with such matters It seems to me that this is exactly the moment when dealing with these matters is necessary When peace is concluded as a preface to another War, it will be too late then to consider these matters We have to face them to-day If England had faced them in 1914 she might have had a mighty army in India to-day, ready to send to the front Then she refused Indian volunteers, then she cast off India's assistance. Now she is asking for the assistance that she despised Ever since 1914 India has poured out her blood, has poured out her treasure with never a word of hesitation, with never a word of what they call conditions, but now the time has come when we are to say "In order to defend the land we must be free (cheers), you must grant us freedom, if you desire that we shall defend England, India and the Empire" (Cheers) They say that this is bargaining. Why *not*? The *moment* a person says it is bargaining you sit down But you must either bargain or revolt Bargaining is

the more constitutional way of doing it They take advantage of your chivalry and of your generosity, and they say that you must not make conditions now But Ireland says "We won't fight if you don't give freedom" In the House of Commons they say that Ireland speaks in a manly way (Cheers) Why should we not be manly ? (Cheers.) Why should we not be manly as well ? Ireland brings America, but America, you must remember, fought for a coloured race and went through bitter years of a Civil War for the sake of giving freedom to the Negro Why then should she be prejudiced when an ancient coloured civilisation asks for the liberty that she fought for the slave ? I would say to you Make no mistake at this crisis of your fate If you have to fight, you cannot help it But as Lok Tilak pointed out, do not talk about cheerfulness, about enthusiasm, about zeal There is only one thing that will make zeal, cheerfulness and enthusiasm in India, and that is the grant of Home Rule (Cheers), and I for one am not ashamed to say "Give us the promise of swift Home Rule and I will do all I can to help you to get both men and money" If they tell me that I am bargaining, I say why should I not ? Why should they ask for everything, and we ask for nothing ? Remember that what we ask for is the birthright of liberty which belongs to every Nation without asking for it, by the gift of God Himself Surely we have a right to say If you want us to fight for

your liberty, let us share that liberty If you want us to fight for the countries in Europe, why should we not fight for liberty on the sacred soil of Mother India ?" That is the righteous tone to take, manly tone to take and not to say "Kick us as you like Tell us what you like" They say we shall change our minds about what we promise, and we will change our ideas as to what you should give'

"This is not the kind of message that should be sent from the Prime Minister of a free country (shame) and it seems to me that such a message shows that they think of you only as inferiors who may take what they may like to give, whether you choose it or not The right answer to that is "We will fight but we will fight as free men and citizens of a free Empire Without that do as you will, pass your conscription law and take your own way" That is the message which will go from all proud Indians in reply to the message sent by Mr Lloyd George and we will ask him to apply to 315 millions of people the same principle that he applies to the four millions of the Irish race I may thank Lok Tilak for the address he has given us and I may assure him also that in the struggle that lies before us, he shall not turn his eyes to Madras and find Madras wanting (Cheers)

MAHATMA GANDHI

INDIA'S PART

Mahatma Gandhi has addressed the following letter to the Viceroy, Delhi, dated, April 29th —

Sir, as you are aware, after careful consideration I felt constrained to convey to Your Excellency that I could not attend the Conference for reasons stated in my letter of the 26th instant, but after the interveiw you were good enough to grant me I persuaded myself to join it, if for no other cause, than certainly out of my great regard for yourself One of my reasons for abstention, and perhaps the strongest, was that Mr. Tilak, Mrs Besant and the brothers Ali whom I regard as among the most powerful leaders of public opinion were not invited to the Conference I still feel that it was a grave blunder not to have asked them, and I respectfully suggest that the blunder might be possibly repaired if these leaders were invited to assist the Government by giving at the benefit of their advice at the Provincial Conference which I understand are to follow I venture to submit that no Government can afford to disregard leaders who represent large masses of the people, as these do, even though they hold views fundamentally different At the same time it gives me pleasure to be able to say that the views of all parties were permitted to be freely expressed at the committees of the Conference For my part I

purposely refrained from stating my views either at the committee on which I had the honour of serving or at the Conference itself I felt that I could best serve the objects of the Conference by simply tendering my support to the resolutions submitted to it, and this I have done without any reservation I hope to translate the spoken word into action as early as the Government can see its way to accept my offer which I am submitting simultaneously herewith in a separate letter

I recognise that in the hour of its danger we must give, as we have decided to give ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire of which we aspire in the near future to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions overseas But it is the simple truth that our response is due to the expectation that our goal will be reached all the more speedily on that account, even as the performance of duty automatically confers a corresponding right The people are entitled to believe that the imminent reforms alluded to in your speech will embody the general principles of the Congress League scheme, and I am sure that it is this faith which has enabled many members of the Conference to tender to the Government their full-hearted co-operation If I could make my countrymen retrace their steps I would make them withdraw all the Congress resolutions and not whisper Home Rule or responsible Government during the pendency of the war. I would make India offer all her able-bodied sons as a sacrifice to

the Empire at its critical moment, and I know that India by this very act would become a most favoured partner in the Empire and that racial distinctions would become a thing of the past But practically the whole of educated India has decided to take the less effective course, and it is no longer possible to say that educated India does not exercise any influence on the masses I have been coming into most intimate touch with the ryots ever since my return from South Africa to India, and I wish to assure you that the desire for Home Rule has widely penetrated them I was present at the sessions of the last Congress, and I was a party to the resolution that full responsible government should be granted to British India within a period to be fixed definitely by Parliamentary statute, I admit that it is a bold step to take, but I feel sure that nothing less than the definite vision of Home Rule, to be realised in the shortest possible time, will satisfy the Indian people I know that there are many in India who consider no sacrifices too great in order to achieve the end, and they are wakeful enough to realise that they must be equally prepared to sacrifice themselves for the Empire in which they hope and desire to reach their final status It follows, then, that we can but accelerate our journey to the goal by silently and simply devoting ourselves heart and soul to the work of delivering the Empire from the threatening danger It will be national suicide not to recognise this elementary truth

We must perceive that we serve to save the Empire we have in that very act secured Home Rule Whilst, therefore, it is clear to be that we should give to the Empire every available man for its defence, I fear that I cannot say the same thing about financial assistance My intimate intercourse with the ryots convinces me that India has already donated to the Imperial Exchequer beyond her capacity, I know that in making this statement I am voicing the opinion of the majority of my countrymen The Conference means for me, and I believe for many of us, a definite step in the consecration of our lives to the common cause But ours' is a peculiar position We are to-day outside the partnership Ours' is a consecration based on hope of a better future I should be untrue to you and to my country if I did not clearly and unequivocally tell you what that hope is I do not bargain for its fulfilment, but you should know it Disappointment of hope means disillusion.

There is one thing I may not omit You have appealed to us to sink domestic differences. If the appeal involves toleration of tyranny and wrong-doing on the part of officials, I am powerless to respond I shall resist organised tyranny to the uttermost The appeal must be to officials that they do not illtreat a single soul, and that they consult and respect popular opinion as never before. In Champaran by resisting, I have shown the ultimate sovereignty of British justice In Kaira a population that was cursing the Government

now feels that it and not the Government is the power when it is prepared to suffer for the truth it represents. It is, therefore, losing its bitterness, and is saying to itself that the Government must be a Government for the people, for it tolerates orderly and respectful disobedience where injustice is felt Thus the Champaran and Kaira affairs are my direct definite and special contribution to the war. Ask me to suspend my activities in that direction and you ask me to suspend my life If I could popularise the use of soul-force, which is but another name for love-force, in place of brute-force I know that I could present you with an India that could defy the whole world to do its worst In season and out of season, therefore, I shall discipline myself to express in my life this eternal law of suffering and present it for acceptance to those who care, and if I take part in any other activity the motive is to show the superiority of that law. Lastly I would like you to ask His Majesty's Ministers to give a definite assurance about Mahomedan States I am sure you know that every Mahomedan is deeply interested in them As a Hindu I cannot be indifferent to their cause Their sorrows must be our sorrows In the most scrupulous regard for the rights of these States and for Muslim sentiment as to places of worship, and in your just and timely treatment of the Indian claim to Home Rule lies the safety to the Empire I write this because I love the English nation and I wish to evoke in every Indian the loyalty of Englishman

The Cambridge Press, Madras,

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